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BOOK IV.

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BOOK IV.



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THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON,

BOOK IV.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES



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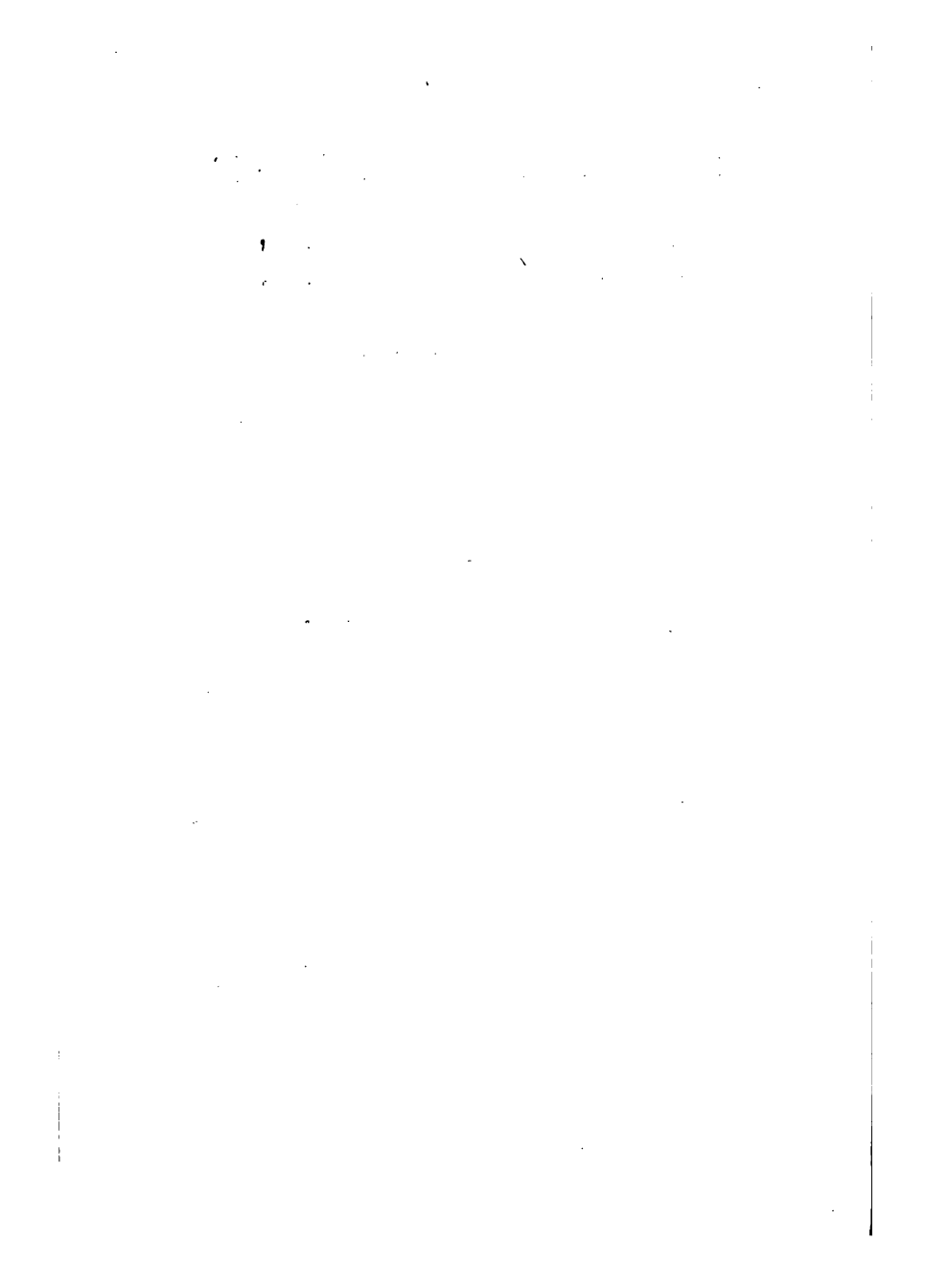
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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is based on that of Bornemann, to whose readings I have generally returned after comparing them carefully with those of his successors. I am also much indebted to the editions of Breitenbach, Hutchinson, White and others.

The notes will in many cases appear elementary to the advanced scholar, but my experience of the Local Examinations leads me to think they are not on that account unnecessary. Instead of explaining a construction at length, as I have usually done, it might have been more profitable to the student had I been able to refer him to the page in his grammar, but, with so many different grammars in use, this course was found to be impracticable.

Whenever a longer explanation is required than my space will admit of, a reference will be given to Curtius' smaller Greek Grammar (edited by Dr Smith) —a cheap and compact little work which only needs a complete Index to make it everything that could be desired.

To assist the student in testing his knowledge of the subject I have added an Index of the principal constructions explained in the notes.

ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE,
Aug. 30, 1874.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

Δ'.

CAPUT I.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐσπέσαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τύγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 3. Ἦκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται ἢ μὴ βούλωνται, περιτάσι. Καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τύγρητος εἶναι· * καὶ ἔστιν οὐ τι στενόν*. 4. Τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιῶνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν

πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα. 5. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίου, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγελσεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 6. Ἐνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας· Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐδόκει κίνδυνος εἶναι μὴ τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιοτο. 7. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινὰς αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὑφ' ἡγεῖτο· ἐφέλιπετο δὲ αἰὲ τὸ ἱπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.

8. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διῆναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν. 9. Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο τι φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι, (διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις) τότε δὴ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινὰς καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἕλλη-

νικόν. 11. Εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἠϋλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.

12. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας καταλιπόντας τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ἀφεῖναι. 13. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν· διπλάσιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. Δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν. /

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὕρισκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο πλην εἴ τίς τι ἔκλεψεν οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. 15. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν χειμὼν γίγνεται πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. 16. Καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καί, στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξουν καὶ ἐσφειδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. 17. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἤγε ταχέως καὶ

παρηγγύα ἔπρεσθαι· ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρῶγμά τι εἴη· σχολή δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῆς ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι.

18. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνῆσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεάνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς στολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς διαμπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν.

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον ἡτιάτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε κἀγαθῶ ἄνδρε τεθνάτην, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι [αὐτῶ] ἐδυνάμεθα.

20. Ἀποκρίνεται [πρὸς ταῦτα] ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, εἰς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἴδε ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὁδός, ἣν ὀρᾷς, ὀρθία· καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾷ ἐξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἑκβασιν.

21. Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπενδον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἳ δ' ἡγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν, οὗ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν.

22. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρείχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμέν τινας αὐτῶν· καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσθαιμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡλεγχον διαλαβόντες, εἴ τινα εἶδειεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὀρώντος τοῦ ἐτέρου κατεσφάγη.

24. Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φαίη εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη

ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. Ἐρωτώμενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. Ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλει γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. Ὑφίστανται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστάνυμος Μεθυδριεύς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρρῆσιος Ἀρκὰς καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ἔφονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. 28. Ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιαρχῶν ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. Ὑφίσταται Ἀριστεάς Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

CAPUT II.

1. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δεῖλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν· ἐκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ *συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες* ὥς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, πλῆθος ὥς

δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὥς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιόντες. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τῆνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους [λίθους], οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκοτός ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπύοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ ριστοὶ ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. Οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι, φοβούμενοι δηλονότι, οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὕλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδούντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμήρασθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. 5. Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κυκλῶ περιόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαnόντες τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὥς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. Οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. Ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο.

7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέβαινε, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἣ τε σάλπιγξ ἐπεφθέγγετο καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέβησκον· εὖζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν.

8. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. Καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τῶν ὑπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμίνα ἔχοντες· εὐσδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. 10. Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεिल्μμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἢ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύεθσαν ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι. 11. Ἐνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίους τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κυκλῶ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται φεύγειν. 12. Καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. 13. Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμοι ἐπίθουντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριούσιν, (ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα,) καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρόν Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν. 14. Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν

πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελόντων. 15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν· ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπώπτευν δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῦντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.

16. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὥπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν· καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε. 17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. 18. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκου ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆγει. 19. Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς κώμας. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρήει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβῆσαν. 20. Ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο [οἱ πολέμιοι] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἔντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυνλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν. 21. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ

ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.

22. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιαταῖς εἶχον. 23. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωκαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. 24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπη εἷη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. 25. Ὅποτε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλύνοντων· 26. Ὅποτε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπίθωιντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλύνοντων ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν. Καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. Ἦν δὲ ὅποτε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρείχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν. ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. 28. Ἄριστοι δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχῃ, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλεον ἢ διπλήχῃ· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς ὅποτε τοξεύοιεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. Ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο· ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

CAPUT III.

1. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠϋλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν· καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέειχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμός [ὥς] ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἠϋλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. Ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πᾶσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρους. Ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκούμῃθησαν.

3. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππεῖς πού πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντάς διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρὰ τεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. Ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἀλκιμοὶ εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέβρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. 5. Αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ἐφ' ὧν παρὰ τεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέειχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὁρῶμένη ἦν ἀγούσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμός μεγάλους λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς

τὰ ὄπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾶλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἔρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπίσθεν. 8. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιῤῥυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅπόσον ἐβούλετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι· καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. Ὁ δὲ ἥδετό τε καὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαιεν ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπionτες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. 10. Ἀριστῶντι δὲ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ἥδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν, καί, εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγείραντά εἰπεῖν εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. 11. Καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κάππειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναικας καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. 12. Ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβαίνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι πρόσβατον εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. Ἐκδύντες δὲ ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὡς νευσούμενοι

διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβαίνειν πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν.

13. Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπευδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. Σπείσας δ' εὐθύς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον· καὶ διηγούνται ταῦτά. 14. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. Σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐβουλευόντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθε μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. 15. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι· τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. 16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.

17. Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήεσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε· καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. 18. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτοξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὕτω ἐξικνούντο. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυ-

ναῖκες ὑπάσαι. Πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

20. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱππεῖς. 21. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρώντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆναι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 22. Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβίων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. 23. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ, ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίδικεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὁχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄνω πολεμίοις· οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρώντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

24. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἐώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στρατεύμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίου καταβαίνοντες ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. 25. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. 26. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοῖς

Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ἔπλα ἔθετο· καὶ παρίγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἰέναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

27. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὡς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάττον δὴ ἐπῆσαν ῥδὰς τινας ἄδοντες. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι αὐν παραγγείλῃ. 28. Ἰδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβιάνας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. 29. Τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρίγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνηῆται καὶ ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπυγκτῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσταιτο ὃς αὐν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.

30. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὄχοντο ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων οἱ δὲ σκευῶν οἱ δὲ ἐταίρων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες

ῥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥπλισμένοι ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὕρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπυγκτῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τᾶναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. 34. Οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

CAPUT IV.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδὶον ὑπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλην τε ἦν καὶ βασιλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοῖς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρις ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. Ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία

ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. "Υπαρχος ἦν δ' αὐτῆς Τηρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος· καὶ, ὅποτε παρεῖη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι. 6. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. Ἐδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπέυσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα· καὶ Τηρίβαζος παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίου· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κόμας περίξ πολλάς, πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. 8. Στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς χώρας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον [πάντα] τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοιεν στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. Ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν· ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἔδόκει συναιθριάζειν. 11. Νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἢ χιὼν· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασ-

θαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἄλσεινόν ἦν ἡ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτω-
κυῖα ὄτῳ μὴ παραρρέυει. 12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλ-
μησε γυμνὸς ὦν ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχα ἀναστὰς
τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. Ἐκ δὲ
τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο·
13. πολλὴ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὕρισκετο χρίσμα, ᾧ ἐχρώντο αὐτ'
ἐλαίου, σύνειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν
πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον· ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ
μύρον εὕρισκετο.

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι
κατὰ τὰς κόμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται
σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἴσοι δέ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήεσαν, τὰς
οἰκίας ἐνέπηρσαν ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς
σκεπνούντες. 15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν τῆς νυκτὸς Δημο-
κράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφα-
σαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ
ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ
ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. 16. Πορευ-
θεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν
ἦκεν ἄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν, καὶ
σάγαριν οἶανπερ καὶ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. 17. Ἐρωτώ-
μενος δὲ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι
δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τηριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια
λάβοι. Οἱ δὲ ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στρατεύμα ὅπου σον
τε εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν
ὅτι Τηρίβαζος εἶη ἔχων τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισ-
θοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους. παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ
αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στε-
νοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν.

19. Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι, Σοφαίνεταιον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνθρωπον.

20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προΐοντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

21. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἢ Τηριβάζου ἔαλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

CAPUT V.

1. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἔδοκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς. καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τηρίβαζος κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν· ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ

αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπός, καὶ ἄνεμος Βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 4. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεών τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λήξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυῖά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπέδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. 5. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά. οἱ δὲ ὅψ' ἐπροσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον· οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἦκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσέσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυρούς ἢ ἄλλο τι ὧν ἔχοιεν βρωτῶν. 6. Ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. Ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθροι ἐγένοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρὴν μετρέειν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡγνόμενός τις τὸ πάθος εἶη. 8. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιώσιν, καὶν τι φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ πού τις ὀρώη βρωτόν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε δίδοντας τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιώσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δέ τις ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. 9. Πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης γυναικάς καὶ κόρας πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. 10. Αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνας εἶεν.

Ὁ δὲ ἑρμηνεὺς εἶπε Περσιστί ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύ-
 ουντο πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχῃ ὅσον παρασάγγην. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ
 ὁψέ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα
 σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι
 ἠδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
 σαντο· τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατε-
 λέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ
 ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλουντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 12. Ἐφεί-
 ποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινές, καὶ τὰ μὴ
 δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἤρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο
 περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε
 διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεση-
 πότες. 13. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικουρήμα τῆς
 χιόνος εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύ-
 οιντο· τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινεῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν
 ἔχει, καὶ εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύειτο. 14. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδε-
 δεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύνοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες
 καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ
 ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι αὐτοῖς πε-
 ποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. 15. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας
 οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ
 ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν
 χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετηκέναι. Καὶ τετῆκει διὰ κρήνην τινα
 ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπη· ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι
 ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. 16. Ὁ δὲ Ξενο-
 φῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὡς ᾔσθετο, εἶδετο αὐτῶν πάσῃ
 τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται
 πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι· καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέ-
 πωεν. Οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύνασ-

θαι πορευθῆναι. 17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῶ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. 18. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἠδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνης εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσιν τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνης τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστική· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. 20. Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. Ὁ δὲ παριὼν καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 21. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠγλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἠδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενούντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι. 22. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενούντας τούτοις παρέδωκαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠγλίζετο. 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς

εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο, ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.

24. Ἐνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφίεναι αὐτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐννάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὄχετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἥλω ἐν ταῖς κώμας. 25. Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἰες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῷ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. 26. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατήρσιν· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς· καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες· 27. τούτους δ' ἔδει, ὅποτε τις διψῶν, λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν· καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ μάλα ἡδὺν συμμαθόντι τὸ πόμα ἦν.

28. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν [μὲν] ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρρύνει αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν ἀπλάσιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθναι γένωνται. 29. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυ-

λακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. 30. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς [τὸν] Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους· καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν, πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· 31. οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνηα, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. 32. Ὅποτε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἰλεκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα· ἐνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ῥοφούντα πιεῖν ὥσπερ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κωμάρχει ἐδίδουσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο· ὅπου δέ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν.

33. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κακείνους σκηνοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρिकाῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν, ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς, ὃ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. 34. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντα Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἢ εἶη. 35. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὥχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ἐν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλιου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκᾶκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πώλων λαμβάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ

λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. 36. Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολλῶ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιελεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρούς.

CAPUT VI.

1. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρᾳ ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχῃ, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος. Τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένει Ἀμφιπολίτῃ [παρα] δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσαιο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπῖοι. Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. Ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ καὶ [ὁ] Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἦγαγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ· ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. 3. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ὥχετο, καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τε τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτη.

4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος [ὡς] πλεθριαῖον. 5. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθ-

μους δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δ', ἐπεὶ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίους· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Οἱ μὲν πολέμοι, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὅρου· ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὅρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπ' αὖν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὥς τάχιστα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ὁρῶντες ἡμᾶς πολέμοι θαρράλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τοιῶν θαρρύντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

10. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γιγνώσκω· Εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι ὅπως ὥς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὥς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι ὅπως ὥς ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὥς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. 11. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον πλέον ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν ἄλλ' ἢ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἰδίαν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὅρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπᾶσαι φθάσαντας, ἢν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. 12. Πολὺ γὰρ

ῥᾶον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεὶ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὸν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρώῃ τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος· καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεὶ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. 13. Καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι ὥς μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δ' ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὥς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβάλλειν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. 14. Ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; Ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. 15. Ὅπως δὲ ὥς κράτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἂν ληφθῇτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. Νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μέντοι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους ὥς μὴ [πολλὰς] πληγὰς λάβωμεν.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἀγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινούς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτουτι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἶπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν. 17. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. Ἐχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐφεπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβον τινὰς ἐνεδρεύσαντες· καὶ τούτων πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ἔρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται καὶ αἰξὶ καὶ βουσὶν· ὥστε, ἐάνπερ ἤπαξ λάβωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς

ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. 18. Ἐλπίζω μέντοι οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν. 19. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· Καὶ τί δεῖ σέ ἵεναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται. 20. Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστάννυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστεῖας Χίος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά. 21. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτη προσάξειν.

22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ἀπῆρχοντο καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαίοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐργηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλά διὰ νυκτός. 23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἤγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήεσαν. 24. Τῶν δ' [αὐ] πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενε ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις, συμμειγνύουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. 25. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων ἡττώμενον φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουσαν. 27. Ὡς δ' ἀνέβησαν,

θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμουσας ἵλθον.

CAPUT VII.

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ὥκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Ταόχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά, Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθύς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῆει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλῳ. 3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὑπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.

4. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλευοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Ἀλλὰ μία αὕτη ἐστὶ πάροδος, ἣν ὀράς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτη πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὅς δ' ὂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. Ἄμα δ' ἔδειξε[ν αὐτῷ] συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 5. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶ-

μεν εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους. 6. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὀρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδουμένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφῇσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν. 7. Ἄλλ' εὐθέως, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ὀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἴη· θάττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. Ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα· καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾶδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ἰπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἄθροοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ ὑφίστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλεῖον ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. 10. Ἐνθα δὲ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶται τι· προτρέχει ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλεόν ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. 11. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας ὡς ὀρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμῃ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστῶνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας σὺδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα ἐταί-

ρους ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ παρέρ-
χεται πάντας. 12. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς ἑώρα αὐτὸν
παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵτινος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
παρέθει αὐτοὺς Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ-
τον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο
ἀρετῆς καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρί-
ζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον,
οὐδεὶς [ἔτι] πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη. 13. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ
δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα· αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ῥίπτουσιν τὰ παῖδιά
εἴτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατεῤῥίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως.
Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας ὁ Στυμφάλιος, λοχαγός, ἰδὼν τινα
θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτὸν στολὴν ἔχοντα καλήν, ἐπιλαμ-
βάνεται ὡς κωλύσων. 14. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ
ἀμφοτέροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέ-
θανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐλήφθησαν,
βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς
ἐπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ἄν διήλθον
ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ θώρακας
λινοὺς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα
πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. 16. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ
κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακω-
νικήν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο· καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες
ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχό-
ρευον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ὄψεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμελλον· εἶχον
δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πέντε καὶ δέκα πηχῶν, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον.
17. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλ-
θοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἵποντο αἰὲ μαχόμενοι· ὥκουν δὲ ἐν
τοῖς ὄχυροῖς· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμέ-
νοι ἦσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

18. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρπασον ποταμόν, εὖρος τεσσάρων πλέθρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμούς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

19. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλθον σταθμούς τέσσαρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνίας. Ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἐπάγοι αὐτούς. 20. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὕψονται θάλασσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. 21. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ [ἱερὸν] ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατείδον τὴν θάλασσαν, κραυγὴ πολλή ἐγένετο. 22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾤθησαν ἄλλους ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ ὅπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγρησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι· καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβοῖνα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν.

23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῷ μείζον ἐγίνετο ἢ βοὴ ὅσῃ δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. 24. Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρα-

τιωτῶν, θάλαττα, θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυόντων. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔθεον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύοντες. Καὶ ἑξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. Ἐνταῦθα ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοτῶν καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέβρα· καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέβρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεϊκοὺς δέκα· ἥτις δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὥχεται τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

CAPUT VIII.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠριζε τὴν τε τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. Εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδροις παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. Οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες,

ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, καταντιπέραν τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοισ διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον· ἔξικνουντο δὲ οὐ, οὔτε ἔβλαπτον οὐδένα.

4. Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν τις ἀνὴρ Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γιγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καί, εἰ μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον αὐτῶν τίνες εἰσίν. Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ἐρωτήσαντος, ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς τί ἀντιτετάχεται, καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι; 6. Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο· Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ γε πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. 7. Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν διαδιδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοισ Ἕλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέροι.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὥδοποιοῦν ὡς διαβιβάσοντας ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμυγμένοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἀγοράν, οἶαν ἐδύναντο, παρεῖχον· καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 9. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλεύ-

σασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται.

10. Ἐλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὅτι δοκεῖ παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθῆσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐδοον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν.

11. Ἐπειτα δέ, ἣν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπήν ἡμῶν ἢ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων πη καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πη τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. 12. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις ἕσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἣ τε ἂν εὐδοον ἢ ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. 13. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα. Ἐάν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνη τῶν πολεμίων. 14. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπίων ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὐτοὶ εἰσιν, οὓς ὁράτε, μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαι ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἣν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς

λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. 16. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· 17. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντι- παραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διεσπάσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. 18. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνε- φείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. 19. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρ- ξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτράπετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. 20. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμῆνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἤμουν καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφύκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ μαινομένοις· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 21. Ἐκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοί, ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης· καὶ πολλή ἦν ἡ ἀθυμία. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πῶς ὥραν ἀνε-

φρόνου· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπαρεύθησαν δύο σταθμούς παρασάγγας ἑπτά, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θύλασσαν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις. 23. Κάντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐληίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορὰν δὲ παρῆχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν, βούς καὶ ἄλφита καὶ οἶνον. 24. Συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων, τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων· καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον *πλέον* βόες. 25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἣν εὕξαντο παρσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βῆες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνᾳ· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ θεοῖς ἃ εὕξαντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν· εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην (ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ἔτι ὦν οἰκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανὼν ξυήλῃ πατάξας,) δρόμον τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι.

26. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ καὶ ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποικῶς εἴη. Ὁ δὲ δείξας ὅπου παρεστηκότες ἐτύγγανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; Ὁ δ' εἶπε· Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. Ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον· πάλιν δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ

παγκράτιον ἕτεροι· καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καί, ὥστε θεωμένων τῶν ἑταιρῶν, πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. 28. Ἐθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι· καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀποστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμόν ἄγειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει] The title ἀνάβασις is, in reality, applicable to the first book only of the work, denoting as it does the journey up country from the sea-coast to the interior. The remaining books are occupied with the account of the κατὰβασις or descent from the interior to the coast of Pontus, with the campaigns incidental to it.

μέχρι τῆς μάχης] The battle of Cunaxa, in which Cyrus the younger was killed, took place on Sept. 7th, B.C. 401. A description of it is given in chapters VIII. and X. of the first book. The position of the town itself is doubtful: Plutarch placing it at 50, and Xenophon at 36 miles from Babylon.

ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς] For an account of these negotiations, cf. II. 3.

§§ 1—9.

βασιλεὺς] The *great* king—Artaxerxes Mnemon, the brother of Cyrus. Students will notice the omission of the article.

ὅσα...ἐπολεμήθη] 'what hostility was shewn.'

§§ 2, 3. *The Tigris being impassable and the Carduchian mountains barring their progress by the river side, they determine to cross them by what Layard calls the 'chief pass of the Tigris.'*

§ 2. τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη] These Carduchians occupied the north-west portion of the modern Kurdistan.

ἀπὸ τρομα...ἐκρέματο] These words are to be closely connected, as is shewn by the position of the article: 'hung sheer over the stream.'

ἐδόκει δέ] 'they determined, *I say*,' Δέ is used thus to mark the *apodosis* to which it gives a certain emphasis after relative sentences or conjunctions. The usage is probably to be explained by regarding the word δέ as akin to δὴ in the sense of *adeo*.

§ 3. ἤκουον] Notice the force of the imperfect, 'they were *constantly* being told by the prisoners:' and the same idea is suggested by the present participle ἀλικομένων for which otherwise we might have expected a perfect.

διελθοιεν...βούλωνται...διαβήσονται] Students will do well to mark these successive changes of mood which denote three distinct degrees of probability: 'if ever they could cross the mountains, then, *supposing they should* wish it, they could *for a certainty* ford the river.'

ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ] The position of these words shews that in sense they go rather with the preceding than with the following clause: 'if they could once cross the mountains and *find themselves* in Armenia.'

περίτασι] i. e. τὰς πηγὰς.

† ἔστιν οὐ τι στενόν] There is considerable difficulty as to the reading of this passage. The MSS give ἔστιν οὕτω στενόν, which is unintelligible, while the emendations of Abreschius and others are (as Mac-michael notices) quite inconsistent with the fact that from the sources of the Tigris the Greeks travelled 135 miles before they reached the Euphrates at all, while the actual sources of the river are 60 miles higher. I have myself adopted the conjecture of Leunclavius with the slight alteration of οὐ for δπου. The allusion will then be to the 'narrow strip of land' formed by mount Niphates which is situated between the two rivers.

§§ 4—9. *The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi without any opposition at first on the part of the inhabitants.*

πρὶν...καταλαβεῖν] The constructions of πρὶν are as follows:

(1) with an infinitive, or an accusative and infinitive, when it denotes simply relation of time to an action either conceived or effected: e. g. πολλοὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι πρὶν δῆλοι γενέσθαι οἱοί ἦσαν, and similarly the passage in the text.

(2) with an indicative, when it refers to a condition or a change which has already taken place: e. g. οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μετεπέμψαντο.

(3) If πρὶν after a negative sentence denotes a condition which has not yet taken place, on the fulfilment of which something else depends, then πρὶν takes the subjunctive either *with* or *without* ἂν, or, if a *past* tense has preceded, the optative *without* ἂν: e. g. οὐ πρότερον οἴονται γιγνώσκειν, πρὶν ἂν ἐπισκέψωνται and ὁ Κύρος ὑπέσχετο μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταλάγει.

§ 5. ἀμφὶ τὴν τελ. φυλ.] 'about the last watch.' The preposition denotes *vagueness* whether in regard to time or place.

ἔσον] i. e. τοσούτον τῆς νυκτὸς ἔσον κ.τ.λ. It is scarcely correct in explaining this construction to say that ἔσον is simply an equivalent for ὥστε. The accusative and infinitive really contain the explanation of ἔσον, 'so much of the night was left as *is represented by the fact* that they could...'

ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως] The word παραγγέλσεις denotes a special order to the troops which, to ensure silence, was passed by man to man along the lines. Compare the force of παρὰ in ἐπιπάσκειμι (ἐίμι), a verb which is used of a general *visiting* the ranks, and again in παραγγέλλω towards the end of § 16.

§ 6. ἡγήετο τοῦ στρατεύματος] 'proceeded to take the lead of the army.'

τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν] 'his own party.' Most editors supply *στράτευμα*, but, to judge from the corresponding phrases in Homer, there is no need to understand a special substantive.

ἄνω πορευομένων] gen. abs. 'while they were making their way upwards.'

§ 7. ἀναβαίνει] The historic present, which is used in place of a past tense to give a greater reality to the narrative. Being virtually equivalent to a past tense, it is rightly followed by *αἰσθέσθαι* rather than by the present *αἰσθάνεσθαι*.

ὀφηγείτο] 'led the way slowly,' as otherwise he would have parted himself from the rest of the troops who were still ascending. 'Drew a little ahead' is Macmichael's rendering, which misses I think the meaning of the writer, who is contrasting the rapidity of the ascent with the easier pace they fell into after reaching the summit.

τὸ ὑπερβάλλον] We may understand *μέρος* with most of the editors, though (as I have already noticed in § 6) it is not necessary to do so. Students will notice the position of the article and be careful in consequence to join *δεῖ* with *ἐφέπετο* and not with *ὑπερβάλλον*. Translate: 'and the portion of the army that was scaling the height followed him in due succession.' For this common use of *δεῖ* in the sense of 'from time to time' cf. τὸν *δεῖ* ὕμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα and similar expressions.

§ 8. πολλὰ ἦν] Notice the position of the article: 'now of provisions there were plenty to take.'

κατεσκευασμένοι] opposed to *παρεσκευασμένοι*, as the latter compound is used of *temporary* rather than *permanent* furniture. Notice also the distinction between the substantives *οἰκία* and *οἶκος*, the former word denoting the *material* building, the latter the *household* whom it contains.

ἐφερον] A part of the phrase *ἀγειν καὶ φέρειν* 'to take as plunder.' He uses in this place only the latter half of the expression, as nothing has been said of *live* stock to which the word *ἀγειν* would particularly refer.

ὑποφειδόμενοι] 'being inclined to spare them (in order to see) whether possibly...' A common ellipse, which suggests the right explanation of a difficult passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 414, ἐγερτὶ κινῶν ἀνδρ' ἀντὶ ἐπιπρόβοις | Κακοῖσιν εἰ τις τοῦδ' ἀφείδησσι πόνου, 'each man bestirring his neighbour to see whether he would be unsparing of his pains.'

διὰ φίλας τῆς χώρας] Notice again the position of the article, 'through their country as that of friends.'

§ 9. στῶ] is Bornemann's reading, and suits ἐπιτυγχάνοι better than *δ τι* which is retained by one or two of the other editors. Ἐπιτυγχάνοι and ἐλάμβανον are both *frequentative*.

καλοῦντων] 'neither hearkened when they called.' Καλοῦντων is probably a gen. abs., though ὑπακούειν in the sense of to 'answer to a call' occasionally takes the genitive.

§§ 10—13. Are harassed by a party of the Carduchians, and take measures to protect their march.

§ 10. σκοταῖοι] 'in the dark.' An adjective used adverbially. Compare the use of *ἀσμενος* in II. I. 16.

ἐγένετο] 'had lasted throughout the day.' The reader will remember that in point of fact the aorist of γίγνομαι is equivalent in sense to an ordinary pluperfect.

§ 11. πλείους συνελέγησαν] 'if however on this occasion they had assembled in larger numbers, a great portion of the army would have been in danger of destruction.' Let me remind the beginner to master once for all the three chief forms of the conditional proposition:

- (i) denotes a *certain* consequence: e.g. ἐὰν τοῦτο σκοπήτε, εὐρήσετε.
- (ii) represents what is said as quite *uncertain*, or *merely possible*: e.g. ἐπιλήσμων ἂν εἴην, εἰ οἴηθῃ κ.τ.λ.
- (iii) represents what is said as *quite unreal* and *impossible*: e.g. εἰ τι εἶχον, εἰδίδουν ἂν.

For the various modifications of the above, cf. Curt. *smaller Gk. Gram.* p. 168, §§ 270—282.

οὕτως] 'as they were' rather than 'accordingly' as it is commonly translated. Notice the aorist ἡλίσθησαν 'took up their quarters for the night.'

πυρὰ] These beacon fires were distinct from those called φρυκτώριαι, which latter could be elevated on occasion.

συνεώρων] 'kept each other in view,' lit. 'had a *connected* view of each other.' The word ἀλλήλους refers solely to the *Carduchi*.

§ 12. ἔχοντας] 'with those of the cattle that were necessary and in the best condition.' The order of the sentence is as follows: πορεύεσθαι τε ἔχοντας...καὶ ἀφείναι πάντα ὅπσα κ.τ.λ.

αἰχμάλωτα] is here an adjective.

§ 13. πολλὰ ὄντα] 'for the cattle and the prisoners by their number retarded the march.' Notice the plural ἐποιοῦν which is used out of regard to the *meaning* rather than the *gender* of αἰχμάλωτα. Macmichael and the other editors strangely enough let this plural pass without comment. In other authors where this construction occurs it may be similarly explained, e.g. Thuc. IV. 88, τὰ τέλη Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν, where τὰ τέλη is virtually equivalent to οἱ ἐν τέλει ὄντες, the 'Lacedæmonian authorities.' The same explanation will hold good in regard to another passage of the present book (IV. 2. 20), but fails when we come to apply it to a similar case in the *Anabasis* (I. 7. 17). We can therefore only notice the construction as a peculiarity of the author.

δὲ] = δῆ, *adco*, as in § 2, 'and many too were precluded from fighting.' This is a safer explanation than to take καὶ in the sense of *even*, and regard δὲ as the simple conjunction. οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς, 'the men in charge of them.'

πορίζεσθαι τε καὶ φέρεσθαι] It is difficult to determine whether these verbs are middle or passive in the present instance, but the former is I think more probable.

δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα] 'and when it had so seemed.' According to Madvig the word ταῦτα is an irregular addition to the ordinary accus. absol. δόξαν, in place of τούτων δοξάντων which is the commoner form, cf. *Hell.* V. 2. 24. Two other explanations of the construction are possible,

(1) that *ταῦτα* is used adverbially for *οὕτω*, or (2) that, though it is to be taken generally with *δόξαν*, it is in reality governed by *ποιεῖν*.

§§ 14—18. *Continued assaults on the part of the enemy.*

ὑποστάντες] 'having planted themselves.' *Εὐπλάκειον* like *ἐπιτυ-χάνοι* in § 9 and *ἐπικέοντο* in § 16 is the optative of *repetition*.

ἐκλεψεν] 'had secreted'—not from the present scrutiny, but on the occasion of the original order noticed in § 12.

τὰ μὲν τι] 'partly,' 'at one time.' The rhythm of the sentence would be conclusive against joining *τι* with *μαχόμενοι*, even if the phrase were a less common one.

§ 15. *εἰς*] lit. 'against the morrow.'

§ 16. *ἀναχάζοντες*] A poetical word which appears again in a deponent form in vii. § 10. 'What with pursuing and the next minute retreating.'

παρήγγελλεν] 'passed the word for a halt.' Cf. *παράγγελσεν* in § 5.

§ 17. *τότε δέ*] 'but on one occasion.' Lit. 'on the occasion I mean:' a common use in Thucydides when the writer is incidentally referring to a subject from which he has digressed.

ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι] 'to go to the front and enquire into the cause of the haste.' For this common sense of *παρέρχομαι* cf. Demos. *περὶ νόματος, ὅτε παρήλθον ἐς Ταμίνας οἱ στρατιῶται*.

§ 18. *στολάδος*] This was a jerkin made of leather or skin, and, owing to its lightness, peculiarly adapted for slingers. The form of the word varies between *σπολάς* and *στολάς*.

διὰ πτερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφ.] not 'right through his head,' as Watson carelessly translates it, but 'right through (the helmet and) into the head.'

§§ 19—22. *Altercation between Xenophon and Cheirisophus.*

ὥσπερ εἶχεν] 'just as he was,' i.e. 'without delay.'

φεύγοντες ἄμα μάχεσθαι] 'to retreat fighting.' In the Greek idiom the word *ἄμα* goes closely with the participle 'retreating the while.'

καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῶ] 'two soldiers good and true.' The phrase describes the perfection of manhood: the word *καλός* marking outward excellence of form, the word *ἀγαθός* goodness of character. Students should notice the force of the tense in *τεθνήτην* which denotes the *state* of death: 'are lying dead.'

ἀνελέσθαι] The regular verb for recovering the dead after battle. Cf. *ἀναρρεῖς*.

§ 20. *αὐτῇ*] 'and the road you see before you is the only one, steep as it is.'

The word *ροσούτων* represents the scene as actually before them: 'all that crowd of men who have occupied and guard the outlet.'

ἐκβασιῶν] This word has created considerable difficulty as the Greeks had not yet reached the *pass* of Chelek properly so called. Kühner offers the rather trivial suggestion that to the Greeks at any rate it was an *egress* from their former position. The true explanation is no doubt furnished by White, who notices that the outlet from the valley of the Tigris formed in fact the commencement of the pass, so that in one sense it was an outlet, and in another an approach to the top of the mountain.

§ 21. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον] 'this was my object.' There is no occasion to explain ταῦτα with Macmichael as equivalent to διὰ ταῦτα, for it may perfectly well be the accusative after ἔσπευδον.

οὐ φασιν εἶναι] 'say there is no other road.' The beginner should notice this use of the negative with εἶω, φημι and certain other words. The negative and the verb cohere so closely that they form together only one idea, and thus a directly contrary sense is given to the verb.

§ 22. ἀναπνεύσαι] 'which gave us also time to take our breath.' The frequent recurrence of poetical words in this portion of the *Anabasis* is very remarkable: e.g. the present verb ἀναπνεύσαι, θαμνὰ § 16, ὁλοτρόχους ἀμαξιαλοὺς ii. 3, μαστὸς ii. 6 and many others.

§§ 23—28. *Examination of the prisoners who tell them of a height, which a body of volunteers are sent forward to occupy.*

ἤλεγchon] like ἔκρινον, 'proceeded to question them.' Διαλαμβάνειν is often simply 'to arrest a man,' i.e. to take him apart from his fellows. In the present case however we should clearly give its full force to the preposition 'taking them separately.'

φόβων] 'though many tortures were inflicted upon him.' Φόβος is not unfrequently used of the act which causes the fear, i.e. of pain inflicted as well as threatened.

κατεσφάγη] κατασφάξαι is to kill by cutting the throat.

§ 24. αὐτῷ] White, I see, would separate αὐτῷ τυγχάνει from the part. ἐκδεδομένη. But the participle is required for τυγχάνει while αὐτῷ may be readily explained as an ethic dative, 'because his daughter had been given in marriage to a man in the neighbourhood.'

πορεύεσθαι] The full construction is as follows: δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις (ὥστε αὐτὰ) πορεύεσθαι.

§ 25. ἔσεσθαι] Notice the change of mood from the optative, which denotes the mere supposition, to the infin. ἔσεσθαι representing a consequence of the certainty of which the speaker is assured. In § 3 I have noticed a still more striking instance of this change.

§ 26. συγκαλέσαντας] Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the subject of the sentence.

πελταστὰς] is here used as an adjective, and, like the genitive τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, serves as an epithet to λοχαγούς, 'some from the targeteers and others from the heavy-armed force.'

τὰ παρόντα] 'the present emergency.'

ὑποστάς] 'by special compact,' 'under certain engagements.'

§ 27. ἀντιστασάδων αὐτοῖς] 'pressing his claims against theirs.'

§ 28. γυνήτῳ] White seems to regard this as a genitive after ταξίρχων. But from the position of the article it is surely better to take it as an adjective like πελταστὰς in § 26.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—15. *The Greeks, in spite of the continued resistance of the enemy, occupy in succession the three heights which command the pass.*

οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον] The οἱ refers to Xenophon and Cheirisophus, the αὐτοὺς to Aristonymus and the party of volunteers.

συντίθενται] 'and they arrange with them that, in case they should gain possession of the summit, they are to guard the position during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at the break of day.' The middle συντίθενται might denote either of the two contracting parties, as is shewn by its use at the commencement of § 2. Here however the change to the accusative τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας leaves no doubt that Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the nominatives of the sentence.

*συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαλόντες] 'while the generals in their turn would sally forth in a body to their assistance with all possible speed.' I have no hesitation in adopting with Bornemann this conjecture of Muretus. The chief objections to Long's reading συμβολῆς ἔνεκεν βαλόντες are (i) that it leaves the sentence without an infinitive, for to supply λέναι from the preceding clause is extremely harsh, and (ii) the extraordinary phrase συμβολῆς ἔνεκεν 'with a view to an engagement,' the use of which even in poetry would require explanation.

§ 2. συνθέμενοι] This may refer generally to the two parties (οἱ μὲν... ἑτεροφῶν δέ) or, as is more probable, to the volunteers only.

οἱ περιώντες] 'their friends who were going round.'

§ 3. διαβάστας... ἐκβαίνειν] 'which they had to cross before they found themselves at the foot of the hill.'

ὀλοτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους] 'round stones, a waggon-load each of them more or less.' The word ὀλοτρόχος is Homeric and will be found fully discussed in Buttm. *Lex.* Such derivations as ὀλος τρέχω, ὀλοὺς τρέχω are now generally rejected in favour of εἰλω (volvo) and τρέχω.

[λίθους]] It is strange that any editor should retain this word as part of the text. Its position can scarcely be defended if it is to be taken with ὀλοτρόχους, while as a fresh substantive it is weak to a degree.

διεσφενδονῶντο] 'which striking in their descent against the rocks were scattered as if from a sling.'

§ 4. εἰ... δύναντο] The optative is hypothetical rather than, as White suggests, frequentative, 'in case their friends should not succeed in this direction were trying their best by another route.'

εἶναι] 'when they thought their retreat *was* unnoticed, they went away.' The writer uses the present tense because he is describing the event from his own point of view and not from the standpoint of the actual parties.

δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς] 'at intervals throughout the night.' The student should carefully note the difference between the accusative and genitive in this and similar phrases.

§ 5. καταδιώξαντες] 'chased the others *down* the hill.'

ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες] 'in the impression they had gained the summit.'

§ 6. αὐτόθεν] 'from where they were,' 'from their present position.'

§ 7. ὑπέφαιεν] Cf. ὑποφειδόμενοι in i. § 8, 'was *beginning* to break.'

καὶ γὰρ] This connects what follows with the word σιγῇ above and introduces a new fact to account for their unobserved approach: 'I may add too there was a mist so that they came upon them unobserved.'

ἐπεφθέγγατο] 'sounded the charge.'
 φεύγοντες] 'abandoned the pass and in their flight some few of them fell.' In the wish to be concise the author has given us a badly constructed sentence. It is clear from the context that only a portion of the retreating party were slain: but taken by themselves the words could only mean 'all the retreating party—few as they were—were slain.'

§ 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσσοφον] Cf. τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτῶν in i. 6.

ἑκαστοι] Students will observe the use of the plural when it denotes *parties* of men, as each of the generals was attended by a band of followers.

ἀνίμων] Derived from *luds*, a leathern strap used for drawing water: 'they drew one another up with their spears.'

§ 9. συνέμειξαν] 'joined company with their friends who had previously secured the position.'

§ 10. διεξεύχθαι] Notice the change of tense, which gives *reality* to the result by regarding it as an accomplished fact: 'or *find themselves* separated.'

ἂν ἐπορεύθησάν] 'might have gone by the same route as the rest of the army.' Here we find a variation from the regular form of the conditional proposition, the latter clause in the sentence being only another way of saying 'if they had not been impeded by their cattle.'

§ 11. ὁρβίαις τοῖς λόχοις] 'they make an assault upon the hill with their companies advancing in files,' the object of this manoeuvre being (as White observes) to distract the attention of the enemy by the number of the attacking columns. The phrase is a common one (cf. *Cyrop.* III. 2. 6, *Anab.* IV. 3. 17), and is equivalent to the *recti ordinis* of Livy. On the other hand in the *phalanx* the men stood in line and presented an extended front to the enemy.

ἀφόδον] 'a way of escape.' For εἰ βούλωντο φεύγειν, cf. note on εἰ μὴ ταύτη δύναιντο, § 4.

§ 12. τέως μὲν] To be taken with ἐτόξεον καὶ ἔβαλλον. Contrast this use of ἑκαστος with that of the plural in § 8. *There* they went in parties: *here* each man makes the ascent by himself. The singular ἑκαστος is often joined with a verb in the plural as it includes the idea of many subjects taken separately.

ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο] 'they did not however admit them to close quarters.'

καὶ ἔτερον] 'when they saw another.' καὶ, like *et* in Latin, is often used as a temporal conjunction to shew at what point the matter stood *when* a change or new event occurred.

§ 13. ἐνόησας] 'having apprehended that...' (White), which can scarcely be accepted as a literal translation. The order of the sentence is really as follows: ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐνόησας καταλείπει λοχαγούς μὴ... ἐπιθῶντο. 'Xenophon, *when he noticed it*, left certain officers on the spot to preclude the possibility of an attack.'

καὶ πάλιν] The καὶ is usually explained thus: 'Might *actually* take it again and attack the baggage cattle as they went past.' I am inclined

however to think that the sentence is an irregular one and that the idea of the writer was something to this effect: '(Fearing that), if the hill were left unprotected and again captured by the enemy, they might attack the cattle.' If so, λαβόντες should grammatically have been λαβόμενοι.

ἐπὶ πολὺ] 'extended over a long reach of ground' i.e. 'formed a long train.'

§ 14. τῆς νυκτός] 'which had been surprised in the night.' The account of this is given in § 5.

§ 15. ἀπολιπεῖν] 'that the enemy had left their position through fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. But in fact they had seen from the summit what was happening to the rearguard of the Greeks and were making their way to fall upon it.'

§§ 16—21. After continued fighting and losses the Greek troops are reunited.

ὁδῶν] 'to move slowly forwards,' i.e. by the narrow path mentioned in § 6, which ran along the foot of the hill.

ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ] For the position of these words which connects them with προελθόντας compare note on ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ (i. 3): 'Accordingly he told them to advance along the road (till they came) to a level spot and then to halt there.' The phrase θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα is used of three distinct manoeuvres, (i) of *stacking arms* preparatory to forming an encampment, (ii) of *posting troops under arms* in the presence of an enemy, and (iii) of *surrendering arms* after a defeat.

§ 17. τεθνᾶσι] Cf. note on τεθνάτην (i. 19).

§ 18. τῷ μαστῷ] This substantive is governed by the preposition in ἀντίπορον, and, as the two words ἀντίπορον λόφον form one combined idea, the position of the dative is easily to be explained. We have already noticed the frequency of poetic phrases in this portion of the *Anabasis*, so that it is unnecessary to alter ἀντίπορον with Schneider into the more ordinary expression τὸν ἀντιπέραν λόφον.

§ 19. ἐφ' ᾧ] 'on the understanding that he would not.' The complete phrase was ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὥστε... and hence it is usually followed by an infinitive, for which however in Thucydides and Herodotus we occasionally find the future indicative.

συνεβήσαν] 'all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had flocked together.' The beginner will notice this pregnant sense of the preposition ἐκ, 'all the dwellers in the neighbourhood had flocked out of it.' The position of the words οἱ πολέμοι would alone make it impossible to accept the reading of White and others, who write οἱ for οἱ and regard ἐπταυθα ἱσταντο οἱ πολέμοι as a part of the preceding sentence.

§ 20. ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο] This must of course refer to the Greek army which had been gradually forming on the summit of the hill (παρήει). But the change of nominative is so awkward and abrupt that I am strongly inclined to regard the words οἱ πολέμοι as an interpolation, suggested possibly by their occurrence in the next sentence.

τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο] The party mentioned in § 16, and again as τοὺς συντεταγμένους in § 21. The word ὅπλα is equivalent to ἀπλίται, which justifies the use of the plural ἔκειντο. Cf. τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἐποίουν in i. 13.

§ 21. προβεβλημένος] 'covering them both with his shield.'

§§ 22—end. *After a night's rest they continue their march under the same difficulties as before. A description of the Carduchian archers.*

ὥστε] for which Schneider reads ὃν, is not to be lightly rejected: 'For there was wine in such abundance that the inhabitants kept it in plastered cisterns.' These (according to Ainsworth) were usually pear-shaped, and have been variously regarded as water-tanks, sarcophagi, &c.

§ 23. ὥστε ἀπέδοσαν] Students will notice the difference between the *infinitive* and the *indicative* after ὥστε, the former denoting the *proposed object*, the indicative the *result actually obtained*: 'arranged so that they *should* restore..., arranged so that they *did* restore.'

ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν] 'to the best of their power,' lit. 'considering their available resources.'

§ 24. ὅπη εἶη] 'wherever there was a narrow pass, they beset it and obstructed their march.' It is better, I think, to take παρόδους of the successive marches of the Greek army rather than in the sense of *mountain passes*, a meaning which is little better than a repetition of χωρίον and not very applicable to the verb ἐκώλυον.

§ 25. ἐκβαλνῶν] 'going off to the mountains from behind relieved the vanguard from this obstruction to their progress.'

§ 27. ἀποφεύγειν] 'so as to make good their escape *with only a small start*.' ἐγγύθεν=ἐξ ὀλίγου, 'from a short distance.' Here again we have the infinitive after ὥστε as the writer is describing the fact as *possible* rather than *realized*.

§ 28. προβάλοντες] 'and they drew the strings, whenever they shot, stepping forward and with the left foot planted against the end of the bow.' This position was necessitated by the extraordinary length of the arrow which could not have been pulled to the head if the ordinary posture had been adopted. The text and interpretation are placed beyond a doubt by the following passage from Arrian, *Indic.* 16, τὸ τόξον κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀναγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ ὁστός ὀλίγον ἀποδέειν τριπήχεος.

ἀκοντίοις] 'and the Greeks, whenever they got hold of them, used them as javelins, fitting them with loops for the purpose.' These ἀγκύλαι were the leathern straps or thongs by which the javelins were hurled. Whether they were identical with the Latin *amentum* is still a disputed point. The best authorities think *not*, regarding *amentum* as a less technical and more general word.

χρησιμώτατοι] i. e. to the Greeks.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—7. *The Greeks encamp in villages overlooking the river Centrites. Are threatened by the Persians from the opposite bank, and by the Carduchians in their rear.*

τοῦ παρα] 'which extends along the river Centrites,' i.e. the Eastern Tigris.

τῶν δρέων...τῶν Καρδούχων] are to be connected in translation, and were only separated by the writer on account of the similarity of termination.

§ 2. πολλὰ...μνημονεύοντες] 'talking much of their past troubles.' μνημονεύειν takes an accusative of the *thing said* and a genitive of the things or persons *concerning whom* it is said. As however either of these may be omitted on occasion it is quite unnecessary to regard πολλὰ as the object of μνημονεύοντες and πόνων as a partitive genitive.

ἐπτά γὰρ ἡμέρας] To make up this number it is necessary to conclude with Krüger that the narrative contained in ii. §§ 24—27 comprises also the events of the two following days.

οὐδὲ γὰρ σύμπαντα] I have little doubt that in the termination of the word σύμπαντα we have lost the article τὰ which originally followed it. Otherwise the construction is irregular, and we have nothing to couple τὰ σύμπαντα closely with the succeeding words. If we retain the present text we must understand ἐπαθόν with the latter clause of the sentence.

ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦτων] Yet, as Rennell notices in his illustrations of this expedition, it was to the mountainous region of the Carduchians that the Greeks owed their preservation from the Persians whose cavalry could not operate on the hilly ground.

§ 3. ἐξοπλισμένους] 'completely armed.' This, as White observes, may be an allusion to the troops called *Cataphracts* who are described by Propertius and others as protecting both themselves and their horses with coats of mail.

§ 4. Ὀρόντα] The satrap of Armenia. This form of the genitive is retained by Bornemann.

Ἀρτούχου] He is mentioned in the *Cyrop.* v. 3. 38 as a chief of the Hyrcani, from which Schneider and others infer that the Mardonii lived on the Caspian sea near the borders of Hyrcania.

§ 5. ὥσπερ χειροποίητος] 'to all appearance artificial.'

§ 6. οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι] The negative οὐτε is answered by τε below, as *neque* is followed by *et* in Latin, while the words εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἤρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός form a parenthesis. 'And it was not possible for them to handle their weapons in the water—otherwise the stream swept them away—while if any tried to carry them on their heads they became exposed to the arrows of the enemy.'

εἰ δὲ μὴ] 'otherwise' 'if they did.' εἰ δὲ μὴ may denote the opposite to a preceding condition, even if it be a negative one as in the present instance.

οὖν] is *resumptive* after the previous digression: 'accordingly they abandoned the attempt and encamped where they were along the river side.' This use of οὖν occurs frequently when the latter clause of a sentence states the *consequence* of the former, and in such cases it is treated in some of the grammars as a distinct construction.

παρα τὸν ποταμὸν] For the accusative compare note on § 1.

§ 7. ἥσαν] 'but on the hill where they themselves had been en-

camped throughout the previous night they saw the Carduchians assembled in large numbers under arms.'

τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν] 'would attack those who should attempt the passage.'

§§ 8—14. *The dream of Xenophon and its supposed realization.*

περιβρυῆναι] Sub. ἔδοξαν, 'to have fallen off from him of their own accord.' Macmichael compares *circumscindere* in Liv. II. 55.

διαβαίνειν] 'could move his legs at pleasure.' The preposition in διαβαίνειν denotes the action of the legs in walking.

§ 9. ὡς τὰχ. ἔως ὑπέφαιεν] like the Latin *cum maxime*: 'just when,' 'at the very moment when' the dawn was breaking.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου] 'from the first.' As I have already noticed it is unnecessary in these cases to supply a special substantive, but, if anything were required, it would be a general word like χρόνου rather than λεπτοῦ which is suggested by Macmichael.

§ 10. αὐτῷ] i.e. Ξενοφῶντι.

ἐπεγέλραντα] Sub. τινα by anticipation from τις. '(It was allowable) for any one to awake him and tell his tale, supposing he knew anything of matters that might affect the campaign.'

§ 11. ὡς ἐπὶ πύρ] 'to make a fire.'

κατῖδοιεν] This compound is specially used of any *chance* or *casual* observation: 'had noticed on the opposite bank among certain rocks that reached to the very edge of the river.'

ὥσπερ] 'what appeared to be bags of clothes.'

§ 12. δόξαι] This infinitive depends on ελεγον which we must supply as required throughout the narrative.

πρόσβατον εἶναι] 'moreover it was inaccessible in this quarter to the enemy's horse.' We must be careful to avoid translating οὐδὲ 'not even,' as the writer certainly does not intend to imply that the spot was more open to the cavalry than to the infantry.

ἐκδύντες] 'so they stripped, they said, and with their daggers in their hands began to ford the river naked, thinking they should have to swim for it. However they went on and reached the other side before they were wet to the waist. After which they recrossed the stream and recovered their clothes and were now come back again.' The carelessness of the writer is shewn by his using the same tense διαβαίνειν to denote the *progress* and the *completion* of the passage. As regards διαβά-τες, its close connection with the words λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια suggests the translation I have given above.

§ 13. ἐγχεῖν] There is a doubt whether νεανίσκοις may not be the dative *after* ἐγχεῖν, 'ordered (the attendants) to fill cups for the young men.' I should have preferred to understand it thus but for the infinitive εὐχεσθαι which makes a change of subject improbable.

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ] 'to complete what was wanting to success.'

§§ 14—to end. *Their passage across the river.*

συσκενᾶσθαι] The Latin *convasari, vasa colligere*.

αὐτοῖ] Xenophon and Cheirisophus. In regard to ἐβουλεύοντο the

beginner may be reminded that the active is used of *counselling others*, the middle of *taking counsel with or from others*.

τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν] The *Persians*, while τῶν ὀπισθε refers to the *Car-duchians*.

§ 15. ἐν μέσῳ τούτων] i.e. after the party with Cheirisophus had crossed, while Xenophon's troops were to follow in their rear.

§ 17. ἀντιπαρήσαν] 'moved parallel with them on the opposite bank of the river.'

κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν] 'at the ford.'

στεφανώσμενος] White and others compare Xen. *de Rep. Lac.* xiii. 8 and *Hell.* IV. 2. 12 in proof that this was a *Lacedæmonian* custom adopted by order of Lycurgus whenever his troops found themselves in presence of an enemy. But the religious ceremonial of which this formed a part was resorted to by all Greek armies under circumstances of danger.

ἀποδὺς] 'having stript himself and taken up his arms passed the word for all the rest of the troops to do likewise.'

τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους] Consult the note on IV. 2. 11.

§ 18. ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν π.] 'let the blood of the victims flow into the stream': a pregnant expression like σφάζαντες εἰς ἀσπίδα in II. 2. 9. ἐξικνούντο] 'failed as yet to reach them.'

§ 19. σφάγια] Macmichael observes that σφάγια and not λερά is the word used, because, in sacrificing to river-gods, no portions of the victim were set apart for burning.

ἀνηγάλαζον συνωλόλυζον δέ] These words signify shouts of joy, the former denoting the war cry of the *men*, while the latter is almost exclusively used in reference to *women*. On the other hand they are both to be distinguished from the verb *παινίζειν* which signifies a solemn religious chant whether of prayer or thanksgiving.

§ 20. ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον] This ford has already been described in §§ 5, 6. Trans. 'ran hastily back to the ford that was over against the outlet leading into the mountains of Armenia, making as though he would cross the river at this point and cut off the enemy's horse who were manœuvring along the river side.' Notice the future infinitive ἀποκλείσειν, which is thrown in to give reality to the narrative even after the imperfect ἔθει for which the historic present would have been the more regular construction.

§ 21. ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτ. ἔκβ.] 'made off to all appearance (ὡς) for the pass that led up the mountains from the river side.' Thus the manœuvre of Xenophon was successful which was intended to draw off their attention until the troops with Cheirisophus had effected their passage.

κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν] 'when they found themselves at the path in question.'

συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος] 'while the main body of his troops clamoured not to be left behind but to be allowed to join in their sally over the hills.' This is the usual explanation of the passage, but I question much whether it is the correct one. In the very next section we find the phrase συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος almost reproduced in the words ἐξέβαυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους, where the reference is—not to the

irregular sortie of Lycius and Æschines but—to the advance of the main body under Cheirisophus. Trans. therefore: 'while the troops clamoured not to be left in the lurch but that *the others* should join them in scaling the hill.'

§ 23. κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας] 'at the place where the banks came down to the river's edge.'

§ 24. τὴν ταχίστην] Sub. ὁδόν, 'by the shortest path.' καὶ γὰρ 'and (well he might) for' etc.

§ 25. ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξει] 'having undertaken the pursuit.' Notice the force of the present participle ὑπολειπόμενα, 'such of the baggage animals as were falling to the rear.'

§ 26. ἀκμήν] An accusative used adverbially = *cum maxime*: 'were at *that very instant* crossing.' It is unnecessary to take ἀκμήν in the sense of *ἐτι* which is condemned by Phrynichus as a later and unclassical usage.

κατ' ἐνωμοτίας] 'to form their companies respectively into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing up each division into line by a flank movement to the left.' This disposition of the troops is admirably explained by White. Its object was to present a continuous front (φάλαγξ) to the enemy, and it was effected as follows. Each λόχος was formed into a column of four ἐνωμοτίαι of which the front ἐνωμοτία alone remained stationary 'while the remaining three faced to the left and filed out (παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας), and, when they had advanced sufficiently far, faced again to the front and moved forward into line (ἐπὶ φάλαγγος).'

παραγαγόντας] Another instance of our author's careless use of tenses. The flank movement which it describes was of course *subsequent* to that of dividing the companies into enomoties, but the participle used implies that it *preceded* it. παρ' ἀσπίδας is opposed to ἐπὶ δόρυ: 'towards the *shield-hand*.....towards the *spear-hand*.'

πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων.....πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ] 'towards the Carduchians...near the river.' In these cases πρὸς is literally 'on the side of' 'from the quarter of,' the genitive denoting the point from which the motion is supposed to commence.

§ 27. τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένου] 'deserted by the mass of the army.' ὄχλος refers to the main body of the troops which had been drawn up in phalanx, rather than to the camp-followers as White suggests.

§ 28. αὐτοῦ μέναι] 'to remain *where they were* on the river bank.' αὐτοῖ] i. e. Xenophon and his party, as distinguished from the targeteers, slingers and archers sent by Cheirisophus.

ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφῶν] 'they were to enter the river from the opposite bank under pretence of crossing it—some on one side and some on the other of his troops—the javelin-men with their hand on the strap, the bowmen with their arrow on the string, but not to advance far into the river.' τοῦ ποταμοῦ is a partitive genitive: lit. 'to a great extent of the river.'

§ 29. σφενδόνη ἐξικνήται] 'as soon as the first missile from the enemy should reach them and a shield rattle from the blow,' i. e. as soon as they should come within range of the enemy. Another but less

natural interpretation is to regard the above as signals to be given to the Greeks by their own commanders.

σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν] 'should sound a charge.'

ἐπὶ δόρυ] See note on § 26. The position of the participle is noticeable, as shewing that it refers to the entire body of the troops and not merely to the portion of them described as τοὺς οὐραγοὺς. 'They should all of them face about to the right, the last man in every file now leading the way.'

ἕσσιτο] Notice the change of construction: '(adding that) he would be the best man whoever should be first across the river.'

§ 30. τῶν μένιν τεταγμένων] These are the ὀπισθοφύλακες mentioned in §§ 26, 27.

§ 31. καὶ γάρ] See note on § 24. ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, 'for mountaineers,' 'considering they live among the mountains.' Compare φρονεῖ γὰρ, ὡς γυνή, μέγα 'for a woman she has grand ideas' (Soph. *Ced. Tyr.* 1078), and the use of *ut* in Latin, *Mulka, ut in homine Romano, littera* (Cic. *De Amicitia* IV. 12).

§ 32. τάναντία στρέψαντες] 'having turned in the opposite direction.'

§ 34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες] The reference is to the party of troops who had been sent by Cheirisophus. See § 27. 'The troops however who had come to meet them, pluming themselves on their courage, and entering the stream farther than the occasion required, recrossed it in the rear of Xenophon's men.'

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—2. *The Greeks enter Armenia and arrive at the village of Tigranocerta (probably the modern Saárt) containing a palace of the satrap Orontas.*

συνατάμενοι] 'having formed themselves in close order.'

πεδῶν ἅπαν] 'marched through Armenia over an unbroken plain and hills of gentle ascent.' It is scarcely satisfactory to explain πεδῶν and γηλόφους with White and Macmichael as accusatives in *apposition with* ὁδὸν understood. They are rather accusatives of *occupation* or (more generally) of *extension*. Cf. πηδῶντα πεδία, 'bounding over the plains' (Soph. *Aj.* 30).

λείους] i.e. not precipitous or encumbered with rocks.

In the words γηλόφους, ἄπλετος (11), ἀτασθαλίας (14) we have again a recurrence to the language of Homer.

§ 2. εἰς δὲ ἦν] By attraction for ἡ δὲ κώμη εἰς ἣν ἀφίκοντο κ.τ.λ.

τῷ σατράπῃ] Orontas, who was satrap of the entire province, while Teribazus was his deputy in western Armenia. This is better than to consider, as Krüger does, that they were both of them *satraps*, Orontas of eastern and Teribazus of western Armenia. For the dative σατράπῃ

cf. Thuc. (IV. 6) ἐσπένδον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς and Lys. (XIX. 22), χρημάτων προσέδει πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς πελτασταῖς. When immediately attached to a substantive it denotes *for whom* the thing in question is had or wanted, while the genitive would imply that it was his *property*.

§§ 3-6. *Cross an eastern tributary of the Tigris and reach a branch of the Euphrates. In western Armenia they have an interview with Teribazus with whom they make a treaty.*

τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ] Macmichael notices that we must understand by this one of the most easterly of its tributaries, as the main branch rises far to the west of their route above *Diarbekir*.

Τηλεβόαν] Ainsworth identifies this with the *Kara-su*, Layard with the *Bitlis*. For the arguments on both sides I must refer the student to the *Commentary of Ainsworth*, p. 172.

§ 4. ὑπαρχος] 'lieutenant-governor.' With the phrase βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν White compares Liv. XXXI. 37, *regem in equum subiecit*, 'lifted the king upon his horse.'

§ 5. εἰς ἐπήκοον] 'having advanced within hearing.' The phrase occurs again in II. 5. 38.

§ 6. ἐφ' ᾧ] For the construction see note on II. 19: 'on the understanding that *he* would not injure the Greeks nor *they* burn his dwellings, while they were to take such provisions as they from time to time required.' In the above and similar passages beginners will notice in αὐτὸς the recurrence to the nominative whenever the infinitive refers to the leading subject of the sentence, and also the use of τε to couple to the second μήτε the positive clause which follows.

§§ 7-14. *Their progress watched by Teribazus. Arrive at a village and palace. Snow storms. Precautions taken against a surprise on the part of the enemy.*

διὰ πεδίου] According to Ainsworth this table-land of Armenia is at an elevation of 4200 feet above the level of the sea. Hence the excessive cold experienced in this region by Lucullus, Alexander Severus and the travellers of our own day.

παρηκολούθει] 'dogged their footsteps,' a word specially used of lingering diseases.

§ 8. ἔωθεν] lit. 'starting from day-break,' i.e. immediately after it. Compare ἀπὸ μέσης νυκτός, and in Latin *de tertia vigilia* and similar phrases.

διασκηῆσαι] Intransitive: 'should be quartered *by parties* (διὰ) throughout the villages.' White calls attention to the well-known difference between σκηνώω to 'pitch a tent,' and σκηνάω or σκηνέω to 'dwell in tents.' He seems however to miss the force of the preposition διὰ when he translates it 'throughout a place' rather than 'in parties or divisions.'

ἀσφαλές] 'it was thought *safer*,' on account of the danger to be feared from the effects of the snow. This, I think, is a more forcible rendering than to regard the latter clause of the sentence as explanatory of the former: 'they saw no enemy and thought they were safe from them owing to the snow.'

§ 9. *λερεῖα*] 'cattle.' Cf. *Cyrop.* I. 4. 17, in connection with which Hutchinson observes that the term *λερεῖον* came to signify any animal used for food from the fact that the Greeks never killed one without offering a portion of it in sacrifice.

τῶν δὲ ἀποσκευασμένων] For the position of *τινές*, which interferes slightly with the construction, cf. ii. 18, *ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ*. In the present case the words *τῶν ἀποσκ.* *τινές* form a combined idea, 'certain stragglers' from the camp. *κατίδοιεν*, 'they had caught sight of,' a sense which I have already noticed as peculiar to this compound. (Cf. IV. 3. 11.)

§ 10. *διασκηνοῦν*] Transitive: 'to quarter the troops by parties.' *ἐντεύθεν*] 'accordingly they assembled, for it was thought better to bivouac in company in the open air.' It is strange that any editors should still be in favour of translating *συναιβριάζειν*, 'the weather seemed to be clearing up about this time.' This explanation does not suit the context so well as the other, while (to judge by the analogy of *συνορᾶν* and similar compounds) *συναιβριάζειν* would rather mean to 'clear up *all at once*.'

§ 11. *ἐπιπίπτει*] 'there came on them a fall of snow so heavy that it buried the men and the armour where they lay.' White translates *ἐπιπίπτει* 'there is a *further* fall of snow,' but cf. *ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα* below for the rendering which I have preferred.

ἀλεινόν] sub. *πράγμα*. This neuter is used for the masculine or feminine when it denotes in a general way the *essence* of a certain *class* of objects. 'The snow, where it had fallen on him, served to warm a man when it did not melt and run off him.'

§ 12. *ἐτόλμησε*] 'had the strength of mind to get up and cut firewood, thinly clad as he was.' *γυμνός*, i.e. without the *ἱμάτιον*, the mantle worn above the *χιτῶν*.

ἀφελόμενος] Sub. *ἄξινην*, a word readily supplied from the idea conveyed in *σχίζειν*, 'took the axe from his hand.'

ἐκ δὲ τούτου] 'thereupon' 'as a consequence of this.'

§ 13. *ἀμυγδαλινόν ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν*] 'of almonds of the bitter kind.' With *πικρῶν* supply *ἀμυγδαλῶν* out of *ἀμυγδαλινόν*, and for the construction cf. IV. 1. 14, *γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν*. For the use of sesame in unguents White compares Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XVIII. 22, and Quint. Curt. VII. 4. 23.

ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων] 'compounded of these same ingredients.'

§ 14. *ἐς στέγας*] 'under cover.'

ἀτασθαλίας] 'wanton insolence.'

§§ 15—end. *The Greeks send out a party to reconnoitre, and, acting upon intelligence received from a captive, they attack and plunder the camp of Teribazus.*

Τεμενίτην] From Temenus in Sicily.

ἀληθεύσαι] 'to have reported truly.' Beginners will notice carefully the use of the negatives in the latter part of this sentence. 'Συρ-

posing anything was not (the case stated as an hypothesis) he reported it as not being (the same stated as a fact).'

§ 17. ἐπὶ τίνι] 'with what object collected.' There is no means of deciding whether τίνι is masculine or neuter in this case, but the latter is the more probable alternative.

§ 18. εἰη ἔχων] White goes out of his way when he translates this 'was having with him' and describes it as a poetical phrase. Translate in preference 'he replied that it was Teribazus with...'

ὡς...ἐπιθυσόμενον] These words are to be connected in translation, the ἐνταῦθα being introduced in consequence of the length of the sentence to give point to the conclusion. 'He added that Teribazus was prepared to attack the Greeks on the road over the mountains in the narrow parts, by which way only there was a passage for their troops.'

§ 19. Σοφαινερον] In v. 3. 1, we find him and Philesius mentioned as τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν.

§ 20. ὑπερέβαλλον] ὑπερέβαλον al., a reading which is clearly disproved by a statement in § 1 of the next chapter.

κατιδόντες] 'having seen the camp below them' is White's translation. But compare note on κατιδοίεν in § 9.

§ 21. φάσκοντες εἶναι] 'as they called themselves.' This phrase is intended to express the writer's contempt for the luxury and extravagance of the Persian satrap, and is to be connected with the word ἀρτοκόποι as well as with the second substantive.

§ 22. ἀνακαλεσάμενοι] 'having recalled the troops.'

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—9. *The Greeks make a forced march and reach the Eastern Euphrates. Having forded it they continue to advance, suffering many privations from cold and hunger.*

πρὶν ἢ] This addition of ἢ though rarely met with in the Attic prose writers is not uncommon in Herodotus and the poets.

§ 2. τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν] The *Murad su* or eastern branch of the Euphrates. 'The Greeks would proceed from the *Teleboas* in a north-eastern direction till they had reached a position about seventy miles from the *Kara su*. This would require the seven marches given by Xenophon and fix the place where they forded the *Murad su* as not far above its junction with the *Khanus*.' (Col. Chesney, II. 229.)

οὐ πρόσω εἶναι] See note on ἔστιν οὐ τι στενόν in IV. 1. 3.

§ 3. παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα] Krüger and others call attention to the rapidity of this march through the snow, and suggest not improbably that these numbers have crept into the text from § 2.

τρίτος] sc. σταθμός.

ἐναντίος] 'blew full in their faces completely parching up everything and numbing the men.' With ἀποκαίων compare the use of

adurere (Verg. *Georg.* 1. 92), *torrere* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 78), in reference to the effects of extreme cold.

§ 4. τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος] Neuter adjectives in the singular are used thus as substantives to denote a certain notion *in general*, something regarded as a whole.

§ 5. ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ] 'at the encampment.' This abundance of wood indicates (according to Ainsworth) the proximity of a river—some tributary stream of the *Murad su* or the more westerly *Khanus*.

πάλοι ἦκοντες] 'those who had been there for some time.' Notice the peculiar force of ἦκειν which justifies its connection with πάλοι rather than πρὶν.

οὐ προσέειπεν] 'would not admit the late-comers to the fire unless they shared with them wheat or a part of such edibles as they had with them.' In this and the next paragraph we have an illustration of the constructions of μετέχειν, μεταδίδοναι etc. They are followed by partitive genitives to express the *entire whole*, and an accusative (expressed or understood) of the *part* or *parts* which are taken or distributed.

§ 6. ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον] 'reaching to the ground.'

§ 7. ἐβουλίμιασαν] The 'bulimy' was a faintness from excessive hunger. White calls attention to the fact that βούς in composition with words in general, like τρις and πᾶν in composition with adjectives, is used with an augmentative force.

τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων] 'finding in his way the falling men.' An ugly construction, of which however Xenophon would seem to be peculiarly fond. πίπτοντας ἀνθρώπων without the article would have been the regular and natural combination, supposing that τοὺς πεσόντας failed to give sufficient reality to the situation.

§ 8. τοῖς βουλιμώσιν] I cannot agree with Macmichael who treats this dative as dependent on παρατρέχειν. In addition to other considerations the rhythm of the sentence suggests that the phrase τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν is complete in itself. 'He distributed it, and sent about those who had strength to run along the ranks administering it to the sick men.'

διδόντας takes the place of δώσοντας for the reason suggested in the last note, viz. to give additional reality to the picture.

§§ 9—23. *Cheirisophus and his party encamp at a village. Continued privations of the rest of the army until the two portions are reunited.*

ἐκ τῆς κώμης] To be connected with the substantives which follow 'some women and girls from the village.'

§ 10. ὅσον παρασάγγην] 'about a parasang.' Probably (according to Ainsworth) at the place now known as *Khanus Kalahsi*, where the chief of the district still resides.

§ 11. ἡδυνήθησαν] We must supply συνεισέρχεσθαι or διατελέσαι τῇν ὁδὸν from the context. But, if it were not for the tense, I should prefer to translate ὅσοι ἡδυνήθησαν 'all the able-bodied men' of the army. This is unquestionably the meaning of τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα in the next section, where it is quite unnecessary to understand an infinitive.

§ 12. συνειλεγμένοι τινές] 'a band of the enemy.'

διεφθαρμένοι] 'those who had lost the sight of their eyes from the action of the snow, and those whose toes had mortified by reason of the cold.'

§ 13. ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος] 'a protection *against* the snow,' but ἐπικούρημα τῶν ποδῶν below is 'a defence *for* the feet.' The vague relation which the dependent genitive bears to its governing noun is here admirably illustrated. The actual meaning must be gathered from the context, the genitive itself signifying little more than 'in the matter of' 'in respect to.'

κινούτο] 'to keep constantly on the move and never stationary, and to take off the sandals for the night.'

§ 14. ὑποδεμένοι] 'with their sandals on,' ὑποδῶν being the opposite of ὑπολύειν.

καὶ γάρ] confirms the statement and gives the reason: 'for in fact, ever since their original sandals had given out, they had made them shoes of undressed leather from the hides of newly flayed oxen.'

§ 15. ἀνάγκας] 'straits.' Καὶ τετήκει, 'and it *had* melted.' Notice the pluperfect without the augment like τετελευτήκει, ἀναβεβήκει.

ἐκτραπόμενοι] 'having turned out of the path.'

§ 16. οὐδὲ γάρ] in a negative sentence has the same intensifying force that καὶ γάρ (cf. § 14) has in a positive, 'for *indeed* they couldn't go further.' σφάττειν, lit. 'to cut their throats.'

§ 17. διαφερόμενοι] 'wrangling over the booty in their possession.'

§ 18. ἄτε ὑγιαίνοντες] 'since they were in good health.' In regard to εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, students should be warned against this use of the preposition εἰς common as it is in Xenophon. πρὸς or ἐπὶ πολεμίους would be the more classical combination.

ῥῆκαν ἑαυτοὺς] 'threw themselves down the snow into the glen.'

§ 19. ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] 'to fetch them' 'in quest of them.'

ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις] 'wrapt up' in cloaks or blankets: not 'covered up in the snow' as White translates it, a sense which suits neither the word ἐγκαλύπτειν nor the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος.

καθειστήκει] 'there wasn't so much as a guard of any kind posted.' Notice the force of the imperfect ἀνίστασαν, 'they proceeded to rouse them.'

§ 20. ὑποχωροῖεν] Cf. ὑπάγειν, ὑφηγεῖσθαι, 'did not make way.' παριῶν 'passing on to the front.'

§ 21. ὅλας ᾗδύναντο] sc. καταστήσασθαι. ἀναστήσαντας, 'with orders to wake them and compel them to proceed.'

§ 22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης] See note on συνεβόρυσαν ii. 19. οἱ δὲ refers to the party of young men who had been sent by Xenophon to the relief of the sick.

§ 23. αὐτοῦ] 'in the village where he was.' διαλαχόντες, 'having drawn lots for the several villages.' At first sight the plural ἑκαστοι is strange as it clearly does not include the followers of each general. It is however readily explained by supposing that more than one general was quartered on each village: 'they went their way, each *party* of officers taking with them their men.'

§§ 24—end. *A description of the villages and the encampment.*

ἀφιέναι αὐτὸν] 'to let him go his own way.'

εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ] See note on IV. 4. 2, βασιλεῖον εἶχε τῷ σατραπῇ. It is probable (according to Krüger and others) that there is an error in the MSS as regards the number of these horses. This opinion is based on the fact that in § 35 we find Xenophon taking some for himself and giving one to each of his captains.

ἐννάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην] = πρὸ ἐννέα ἡμέρων.

§ 25. το μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος] It is usual to understand the participle ἐχουσαι with στόμα. But a far more simple explanation is admissible, viz. to supply the word στόμα itself with the genitive φρέατος, 'were as to their entrance like the entrance to a well.'

δρνιθες] 'fowls,' while χιλὸς 'hay' is equivalent to χιλὸς ξηρὸς mentioned below.

§ 26. οἶνος κριθῶνος] 'barley wine.' Macmichael compares the following passage from the *Germania* of Tacitus (cap. 23) *Potui humor ex hordeo in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus*. The same liquor was in use among the Egyptians (Herod. II. 77).

ἰσοχειλεῖς] 'and in them were floating the actual barley-corns on a level with the brim.' It was to avoid swallowing these that the mixture was drunk through straws (κάλαμοι). γόνατα are 'joints' or 'knots.'

§ 27. ἀκρατος] 'strong,' lit. 'unmixed' and equivalent to the Latin *merum*. συμμαθόντι is a poetical substitute for the more ordinary word συνεβισθέντι, 'to one who was used to it.'

§ 28. ἀντεμπλήσαντες] 'and they would fill his house before they left with necessities if it should be proved that he had suggested anything for the good of the army.' ἐξηγεῖσθαι is the Latin *præire*, to 'point out' whether by word or action. Beginners will bear in mind the difference between φαίνεσθαι with an infinitive (e.g. φαίνεται εἶναι, 'he appears to be') and the same with a participle (e.g. φαίνεται ὢν, 'he clearly is').

§ 29. φιλοφρονούμενος] 'to shew his friendliness.' οἶνον, i.e. wine made from the grape as distinguished from the οἶνος κριθῶνος mentioned above. With κατορυγμένους compare the Latin *defossus*. οὕτως 'as I have said.'

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] is added to give emphasis to the words ἐν φυλακῇ, 'with the village-chief in their keeping and his children with him under their very eyes.'

§ 30. παρτοί] Notice these frequentative optatives, 'and wherever he came up to a village.' ἀφίσαν, 'from no place did they allow them to depart.'

§ 32. προπιεῖν] To 'drink the health of any one.' Lit. to 'drink first to any one,' as it was the Greek custom to pass the cup to one's friend after drinking first oneself. Sometimes the drinking cup itself was offered to him as a present, and thus προπιεῖν came afterwards to mean to 'give away.'

εἴλκεν] with which compare ἐδίδωσαν and ἐλάμβανεν below, is a frequentative imperfect, employed to denote a continued series of actions and constructed either with or without ἄν. 'He would draw himself down to the bowl, out of which he had to drink with his head bent.'

§ 33. ἐνεοῖς] 'deaf and dumb.' ἐνεός is probably the same word with ἀνεός from ἀω, αἰω. In other writers we usually find the fuller phrase ἐνεός καὶ κωφός.

§ 34. ἧ εἰς] 'in what direction it lay.'

§ 35. αὐτόν] sc. τὸν κωμάρχην.

ἵππον] 'and a horse that he had taken, which was getting too old for him, he gave to the chief to fatten up for sacrifice, for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun.' I cannot at all agree with White who understands ἑρὸν to mean that horses generally were offered up in sacrifice to the sun, and not that the particular animal which was given to the comarch was a sacred one. Almost everything is against this interpretation, more especially the use of the pronoun αὐτόν. Add to which it was only horses of a peculiar colour and breed that were consecrated to the sun.

τῶν πῶλῶν λαμβάνει] 'takes some of the colts.'

§ 36. σακία περιειλεῖν] 'to tie little bags round the feet of the horses.'

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—4. *After encamping for seven days the Greeks set out taking with them the comarch to lead the way. He leaves them in consequence of a quarrel with Cheirisophus, and, after proceeding for seven days without a guide, they arrive at the river Aras.*

τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα... τῷ κωμάρχει] Without the help of the context it would have been impossible to gather from the Greek that the guide and the comarch were one and the same person.

ἡγήσεται] 'in order that, if the comarch should conduct them properly, he might take his son also and begone.'

§ 2. ἦν] sc. ὁ κωμάρχης. The reference made by White to i. 8. 1 in proof that ἦν is here used impersonally of time is hardly apposite to the occasion. The phrase ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλῆθουσιν is directly suggestive of a special period: on the other hand in the word σταθμῷ the idea of *time*, if it exists at all, is quite subordinate to that of *distance*.

§ 3. ἀποδράς ἔχετο] 'ran off.' With ἐχρήτο at the close of the section compare the use of *uti* in Latin, 'found him most trustworthy.'

§ 4. δνᾶ] 'at the rate of five parasangs a day along the river Phasis.' All the commentators are agreed in identifying this river with the *Aras* or *Araxes* which runs into the Caspian. The Greeks however supposed it to be the *Colchian Phasis* running into the Euxine, a point which Macmichael illustrates by comparing two passages of the fifth Book (vi. 36, vii. 1). The mistake may have originated in the fact that near the sources of the *Araxes* was a plain called *Phasiane*.

§§ 5—21. *Enter the district of the Chalybes, Taochi and Phasiani, who oppose their progress. A council of war, with the speeches of Xenophon, Cheirisophus and others.*

σταθμοὺς δύο] In all these cases there are great difficulties in forming an estimate of the distances really travelled. Thus Professor Malden regards the parasang at this stage of their journey as equivalent to two geographical miles, while Colonel Chesney, taking into consideration the obstruction caused by the snow, thinks it may have averaged little more than a mile. If we accept the latter as the more reasonable estimate, we shall regard them as having travelled only five and thirty miles eastward along the supposed Phasis before they found out their mistake by meeting with the Hassan Kalashi a western affluent of the Aras.

§ 6. κατὰ κέρας ἄγων]=*agmine longo ducens*, lit. 'leading by a wing,' i.e. *in column*.

παράγειν τοὺς λόχους] This manœuvre has been fully described in a note on IV. 3. 26.

§ 7. ἀγωνιούμεθα] 'how we shall fight with the best chance of success.' As regards the construction of *δπως* after verbs like *σκοπεῖν*, *βουλευέσθαι*, we have (i) the *consideration how* a thing may be done, in which sense the future indicative is exclusively used, and (ii) the *preparation in order that* it may be done, in which sense (as below in § 10) the subjunctive is also admissible.

§ 9. προσγενέσθαι] 'and in all probability they will then and there be joined by others in larger numbers.' The aorist for the future denotes the certain and instantaneous result. The future perfect is another tense which gives the same idea of certainty but regards the result as a *continuance*, e.g. οὐ γεγράφομαι, 'I shall not see myself in the position of one enrolled.'

§ 11. τὸ ὁρώμενον] An accusative absolute, 'as regards the part which is in view.' Trans. 'now the mountain range, so far as we can judge by the eye, extends for more than sixty stadia.'

ἀλλ' ἢ] 'save only.' This adverbial expression is admissible only after a negation or in a question equivalent to a negation. It is often incorrectly written ἀλλ' ἢ as if from ἀλλὰ rather than ἄλλος.

κλέψαι τι] Compare the use of *subducere* and *subripere* in Latin, e.g. *costam longo subduximus Appennino* (Pers. I. 95), and *Putavi tam pauca millia subripi posse* (Sen. Ep. 53). Trans. 'accordingly it is far wiser to try to steal a position unobserved on some part of the desert mountain and occupy it by a surprise.'

μᾶλλον] This μᾶλλον is of course superfluous after the preceding comparative κρείττον. As an idiom it scarcely requires explanation, for it is easy to see that it may have arisen from a combination of the two constructions κρείττον κλέψαι ἢ μάχεσθαι and ἀγαθὸν κλέψαι μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι.

§ 12. ὅρθιον...ίεσθαι ἢ ὁμαλὸν] These may be used adverbially, though it is safer to explain them as *accusatives of occupation*, a construction which I have already noticed on IV. 4. 1.

τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν] 'what lies before one,' i.e. in one's intended path, while τὰ πρὸς ποσὶ='what lies close at one's feet.' Trans. 'nay by

night when fighting is out of the question one may see what lies before one better than by daylight if fighting has to be done.'

τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις]=τὰς κεφαλὰς παραβαλλομένοις, 'to men who are risking their lives.' At first sight this will be considered a bold deviation from the accepted translation 'to men whose heads are a mark for missiles,' but, had the latter sense of βάλλομαι been intended, the somewhat comic κεφαλὰς would surely have been omitted or σώματα substituted in its place. Moreover, though I cannot lay my hand on the passage, I have a distinct recollection of seeing βάλλομαι used as an equivalent for παραβάλλομαι in this sense.

§ 13. κλέψαι δέ] 'to steal a march too.' For this use of δέ see note on IV. 1. 2, where I have explained it as akin to the emphatic δὴ.

ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον] 'to withdraw to such a distance as not to give an idea of our whereabouts.' He means that, before attempting to force a passage, they should withdraw to a safe distance from the enemy who are mentioned in § 11 as guarding the regular pass. This is better than the explanation proposed by Weiske: τοσοῦτον [μέρος στρατεύματος] ἀπελθεῖν.

ταύτη προσποιούμενοι] 'and I think that by making a feigned attack in this quarter we shall be likely to find the rest of the mountain less carefully guarded.' Students will notice that ἀν is often used twice and even three times in the same sentence. In such cases it will generally be placed early to stamp the character of the sentence which is to follow, and it will appear again in all probability with the emphatic word (as in the present case with ἐρημοτέρῳ), and again perhaps with the main verb at the close of the sentence.

μένειν] We may supply ἀν from the previous sentence. The context in this case will scarcely allow us to press the more scholarly explanation that ἀν is purposely omitted with μένειν to shew that it is the more remote contingency: e.g. 'the mountain will *probably* be more unguarded, for the enemy may *possibly* remain here.'

§ 14. συμβάλλομαι] Sub. λόγους, and compare the use of the Latin *conferre* either with or without the addition of *sermonem*.

τῶν δημοίων]=τῶν δημοτίμων (Cyr. 1. 5. 5), *the Peers*. A term used in the aristocratic states of Greece to denote all those citizens whose rank entitled them to hold the highest offices of state.

εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδίων] 'from your very boyhood.'

οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι] The explanation of this peculiar code must (as White observes) be sought in the fact that in communities like Sparta, where most things were held in common, the rights of property naturally fell into abeyance and were violated without offence.

§ 15. ἄρα] 'it is customary, I think, with you.' ἐπιδείξασθαι, 'to give us a specimen of your training.'

μέντοι] 'and to be on our guard *notwithstanding*.' This is, I think, the best explanation of the particles. If a simple emphasis had been intended without any adversative force (e.g. 'to be on our guard too') the writer would probably have used δὴ in the sense of *adeo* or simply τοι. So again in the following section we may translate τοὺς κρατίστους

μέντοι, 'the best men *notwithstanding* (they are so).' τοῦ δρους is of course a partitive genitive.

§ 16. τοῦ κινδύνου] for the penalty was ἀτιμία or loss of the franchise until the offender had restored twice the amount of the property taken.

εἴπερ] 'that is to say if it *be* the best men who are preferred for office in your communities.' Notice the difference between εἴπερ which expresses a *doubt* 'if so be that,' and εἰ γε which expresses a *fact* 'since, seeing that.' The former is used in the present instance as the speaker wishes to cast a slur on the character of the Athenian demagogues.

ὑμῖν] 'with you' 'in your states.' Two explanations of this dative are possible, (i) to combine it closely with οἱ κρᾶτιστοι, 'your leading men,' in which case we may refer it to the class of datives mentioned in our note on IV. 4. 2, (ii) and preferably, because it makes the pronoun more emphatic, to treat it as an *ethic* dative, which is introduced to 'denote a participation and interest in the person speaking, spoken to, or spoken of' (Madv.). The position of ὑμῖν at the commencement of the sentence is favourable to either of the above explanations, but against our combining it closely with ἀξιούνται in the sense proposed by White 'are deemed worthy *by* you.'

§ 17. τῶν ἐφεπ. ἡμῖν κλωπῶν] 'of the thieves who hang upon our steps.' νέμεται, 'is fed by,' but for the literal meaning of the verb see Lidd. and Scott on νέμω, *προνέμω*.

παρὰ...ἔσται] Lit. '(matters) will be passable.' In all such cases, as I have repeatedly noticed, supply the most general word, e.g. *πράγματα* rather than *χωρία*.

§ 18. ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ] 'on the same footing with them,' like *ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν*, 'to a fair encounter with us.' Cf. *ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον καθίστασθαι τινι* (Cyr. I. 6. 28.). Lidd. and Scott translate 'they will not descend to the level plain,' but the addition of the pronoun ἡμῖν is fatal to this rendering.

§ 20. σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο] 'they agreed,' equivalent to ταῦτα *συνθέμενοι* in the next section.

§ 21. ταύτην προσάξειν] 'that he would lead the assault in this direction.'

§§ 22—end. *Success of the manœuvre.*

§ 22. ἐργηγόρεσαν] Owing to the sense of the present ἐγελω this pluperfect has the force of an imperfect, 'kept watch.'

§ 23. κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν] The pass mentioned in § 11. κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, 'advanced against the enemy along the heights.'

§ 24. τοὺς πολλοὺς] Cf. τὸ πολλὸν above: 'before the main bodies (of the contending armies) had closed.'

§ 25. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου] Cf. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, IV. 5. 22. Observe how the general nominative οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου is afterwards subdivided into οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ and Χειρίσσοφοι δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις.

βάδην ταχὺ] 'at a quick march.' βάδην is opposed to δρόμῳ ἔθειον, but qualified in its turn by the addition of ταχέ.

§ 27. *θύσαντες*] White calls attention to this use of the active when the idea is that of simple sacrifice whether in thanksgiving or otherwise. On the other hand, 'to take the auspices' in regard to a future event is represented by the middle voice as in § 23.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—14. *The Greeks enter the country of the Taochi, who obstruct their progress by hurling stones on them from a mountain stronghold. The place is taken and plundered.*

ἐς Ταχους] The modern *Taochir*, a district of Georgia. The country is still thickly wooded, being occupied in part by the *Suwanli*, one of the few forest ranges to be met with for many miles round.

ἐπέλιπε] 'failed.' Used intransitively this is a commoner form than *ἀπέλιπε* which White admits into his text. Compare the familiar phrase *ἡ σελήνη ἐπέλιπε*.

ἀνακεκομισμένοι] is the middle voice, cf. *ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν* in IV. 7. 17, 'into which moreover they had carried up all their provisions.' This combination of *ἔχω* with a participle, usually the aorist but compare *ἔχουεν ἀνηρπακότες* (I. 3. 14), denotes at once the *preceding action* and the *present state*. It is to suit this idea of continuance that *ἐν οἷς* is added, for which we should otherwise have expected *ἐς αὐτά*, 'had conveyed for safe keeping in them.' Cf. *Ov. Fast.* III. 664, *In sacri vertice montis abit*.

§ 2. *εὐθὺς ἤκων*] 'immediately on his arrival.' As in the phrase *ἄμα μαχόμενος*, which we have already noticed, the adverb though in sense it belongs to the leading verb is by the Greek idiom attached closely to the participle.

ἀθρόοις] 'for the army could not encircle it in a body because a river ran round it,'—leaving however in one direction the *πάρους* mentioned in § 4.

§ 3. *ἐς καλόν*]=*καλῶς*, 'in good season,' 'to good purpose.' Here again, if we must needs supply anything, it should certainly be *πράγμα* rather than *χρόνον*.

§ 4. *οὕτω διατίθεσθαι*] 'is treated as you see.'

§ 5. *ἄλλο τι ἢ*] 'is it not the case that nothing hinders our advance?' In other words 'does anything hinder our advance?' The phrase *ἄλλο τι ἢ* is an elliptical expression meaning 'is it anything else than...?' 'is the case otherwise than...?' corresponding in fact with the Latin *nonne?*

εἰ μὴ] One of the regular phrases for a *negative condition* or (as here) an *exception*.

§ 6. *σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρα*] 'about a plethrum and a half.' Another expression for the same amount would be *δεύτερον ἡμίπλεθρον*, 'the second only a half-plethrum.'

βαλλομένους] Compare note on IV. 6. 12, 'which we must cross within range of their missiles.'

διαλειπούσαις] 'at intervals.' Lit. 'leaving spaces between them.'
 ἀνθ' ὧν] 'opposite to which,' and therefore by inference from the context 'behind which.'

ἥδη] 'now the remainder of the distance from that point.' λωφήσωσιν, 'whenever the shower of stones shall have abated,' a word used in connection with the plague at Athens (Thuc. II. 49).

§ 7. πολλοί] Notice the position of the article, 'the stones fly in numbers.'

αὐτὸ] 'the very thing,' he answered, 'that we require.'

μικρόν τι] White regards this as an accusative *after παραδραμεῖν*, but the two clauses of the sentence are more evenly balanced if we take it as the nominative to *ἔσται*, i.e. *μικρόν τι ἔσται* (ὥστε) *παραδραμεῖν*. *ἀπελθεῖν* is to 'go back.'

§ 8. ἡ ἡγεμονία] 'for he took the lead among the captains of the rearguard.' *λοχάγων* is a partitive genitive, not governed by *ἡγεμονία* but following *τούτοις*. The *λόχος* which led the way had the post of danger: consequently, as White observes, each company took the position in turn.

φυλαττόμενος] 'protecting himself.'

§ 9. καὶ ἄλλοι δέ] See note on IV. I. 13.

ὑφίστασαν] 'drew up their men for shelter just outside the trees.'

This compound is more suggestive than *ἐφίστασαν* which is preferred by some of the editors. It is also more in accordance with the tense which is scarcely suitable to so instantaneous an act as halting an army. With either verb supply *λόχους* rather than *ἐαυτούς*, as the latter would be a very questionable construction.

§ 10. ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς] 'at each of his sallies.'

§ 11. πρῶτος] refers to Agasias, 'fearing he should not be the first to run past.' *δέδοικα μὴ = vereor ne*, 'I fear something *will* happen,' but *δέδοικα μὴ οὐ = vereor ne...non*, 'I fear something *will not* happen.' After a historic tense the optative will of course take the place of the subjunctive. One other important construction remains to be noticed, viz. *δέδοικα* with the indicative, expressive of great certainty, e.g. *δέδοικα μὴ τέθνηκε*, 'I fear that he is dead.'

οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστ.] 'not even Aristonymus,' as otherwise we should require *οὔτε* in place of *οὐδὲ* for these successive negatives.

§ 12. τῆς ἔντος] 'the rim of his shield.' It is also used for the fellow of a wheel, indeed for the outer edge of any round body.

ἀντεποιούντο] 'made pretensions to courage and vied with one another in displaying it.'

§ 14. ἐπισπᾶται] 'drags him after him, and both went tumbling down the rocks.'

§§ 15—19. *Enter the country of the Chalybes. Description of their dress and manner of life. Arrive at the river Harpasus, and, after passing through the plain lands of the Scythini, reach the city of Gymnias, from which they take a guide.*

Χαλύβων] Called by Pliny *Armeno-Chalybes* to distinguish them from other branch tribes who inhabited Pontus and Paphlagonia.

τῶν πτερύγων] 'and in place of the usual skirts they wore thickly

twisted cords.' By *πτέρυγες* are meant the fringes of the cuirass which were usually made of leather or felt.

§ 16. *ξυήλην*] 'and at the belt they wore a knife of the size of a Laconian scimitar.' The *ξυήλη* was shaped like a sickle and is a term of Laconian origin. For *ἐσφάττων* see note on *κατεσφάγη*, IV. 1. 23, and translate *δύναυτο* as a *frequentative*.

ἀποτέμνοντες ἄν] 'they would cut off their heads and carry them with them on their march.' In a note on IV. 5. 32, I alluded incidentally to this *frequentative* sense of *ἀν* with the aorist and imperfect indicative. In this and similar combinations it affects the participles no less than the leading verb (cf. Demos. 19. 51, *οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοὺς χρόνους ἀνελών...τηνικαὶτ' ἐκάλει*) and in his translation and note on the passage White is needlessly careful to connect it solely with *ἐπορεύοντο*.

μῖαν λόγχην] To distinguish it from the Grecian spear which had a second spike at the butt end (*στύραξ* or *σαυρωτήρ*) by which it could be planted in the ground.

§ 17. *ἐν τοῖσις*] For the force of the preposition, see note on § 1. *ὥστε μὴδὲν λαμβάνειν*] To preserve the usual force of *ὥστε* with the infinitive this sentence should be printed in close connection with the preceding, as denoting the *object* with which the Chalybes had stored away their provisions. The *result* is marked by the change to the indicative *διετράφησαν*.

§ 18. *Ἀρπασον ποταμὸν*] Great difficulty is experienced in identifying this river. It has been generally assumed to be the modern *Arpa-chai*, the northern and chief branch of the Araxes. But this river could scarcely have had a width of four hundred feet at this part of its course, on the assumption that the Greeks fell in with it at the point where it is crossed by the high road from Erzurum and Kars. Accordingly Layard and Chesney consider that the river alluded to is the *Ḥuruk su*, called afterwards the *Apsarus* and *Acampsis*.

§ 19. *Γυμνίας*] This place has been variously identified with *Comasour*, *Erzurum* and *Ispir*. The last assumption is the most probable, more especially as Mount Theches is generally supposed to correspond with *Tekiya Tagh* from which *Ispir* is about sixty miles distant. This would give an average march of twelve miles a day if we suppose the Greeks to have followed the valley of the *Ḥuruk su*.

πέμπει] This historic present, being equivalent to a past tense, accounts for the optative which follows.

τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας] 'which was at war with his own tribe.' Cf. *εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν* in the next section.

§§ 20—end. *Their guide conducting them they reach Mount Theches and obtain their first view of the sea.*

πέντε ἡμερῶν] 'in five days.' Lit. 'at some period within five days.' A partitive genitive like *νυκτός*.

τεθνάναι] Notice the certainty expressed by the tense, 'he offered to be slain on the spot.'

τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας] 'good will towards the Greeks.' For the genitive *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, see note on IV. 5. 13.

§ 21. τὸ [ιερόν] ὅρος] The modern name likewise is suggestive of a chapel or monastery which had existed on the spot.

§ 22. ἐμπροσθεν] In opposition to εἰποντο ὀπισθεν which follows.
βοῶν ὠμοβόδια] In illustration of this genitive White compares such expressions as ἐμὸς τοῦ ἀθλοῦ βλος where ἀθλοῦ is in apposition with ἐμοῦ to be supplied from ἐμός. So in the present instance βοῶν is in apposition with the same genitive implied in ὠμοβόδια.

§ 23. οἱ δὲ ἐπύοντες] For this use of δὲ see note on IV. 1. 7.
'the fresh-comers as they arrived.'

§ 24. παρεγγυώντων] 'reliquis ut appropriarent' (*Krüger*), 'cheering on the rest' (*White*). But, to judge from the sense of παρεγγυήσαντος below and παρεγγύωτο in IV. 1. 7, it clearly means no more than 'passing the word (θάλαττα) along the lines.'

ἡλαίνετο] 'were pressed to a gallop.' Lit. 'were driven hard.'

§ 25. περιέβαλλον] Sub. χεῖρας, 'they threw their arms round one another.' According to Tate and others the reciprocity of the action required the middle voice, but this theory is hardly borne out either by analogy or usage. The middle is to 'throw something around oneself,' while to 'throw oneself on something' requires, as we should expect, the passive voice.

δου δὲ παρεγγυήσαντος] 'some one or other having passed the word to do so.' The phrase in full would have been παρεγγυήσαντος ὅστις δὲ παρεγγύησεν.

§ 26. κατέτεμνε] As otherwise they would have been carried off by the inhabitants of the district.

§ 27. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ] 'from the common stock.' Notice the force of the article in τοὺς δακτυλούς, 'their rings,' 'the rings which he saw on their fingers.'

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—8. *The Greeks enter the territory of the Macrones, who at first oppose but afterwards assist them. Conducted by these they arrive at the frontiers of the Colchians.*

διὰ Μακρώνων] These are the *Sanni* mentioned by Strabo, and are supposed by Herodotus to have been of the same family as the Colchians.

§ 2. οἶον χαλεπώτατον] 'on their right hand they had high ground most difficult of ascent.' Observe the addition of οἶον for the purpose of strengthening the superlative. Lit. 'a place such as the most difficult is.'
, ἐνέβαλλεν] 'emptied itself.' Col. Chesney places the junction of these two rivers near the modern village of *Damajulu*. One of the rivers (he adds) coming from the north west has remarkably steep banks, rising fifteen or twenty feet, with hills above, of difficult ascent on the eastern side, and a chain of more accessible shoulders on the opposite; both are covered with firs and silver poplars of small size (παχέσι μὲν οὖ).

ἐκοπτον] Their object in this was twofold, (i) to clear a passage to the river, and (ii) to use the trees as they felled them for bridging over the stream.

§ 3. **οὐτε ἐβλαπτον]** This is the reading of the mss, and I believe that Macmichael is right in retaining it, though he should have added a note in explanation of so remarkable a solecism. Had the writer used the ordinary sequence of negatives (i.e. οὐ...οὐδὲ or οὐτε...οὐτε), he would have represented the two clauses of the sentence as of *equal* importance. That this was not his intention we may readily infer from the emphatic position of the leading negative, which (if I may use the expression) covers the ground of the second: 'They did not reach them *and consequently* did not injure them.'

Breitenbach solves the difficulty by writing οὐδὲ for οὐτε. White reads ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐδὲ, οὐδ' ἐβλαπτον οὐδένα, a most intolerable sentence.

§ 5. **ἀντιτετάχεται]** An Ionic form for ἀντιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶν used repeatedly by the most classical writers.

§ 6. **καὶ ὑμεῖς]** A retort to the question τί χρήσουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμοι εἶναι; In the answer however the charge of hostility is *implied* rather than *expressed* in the words ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐρχεσθε.

§ 7. **λόγχην]** Cf. Hom. *Il.* Z. 230.

§ 8. **συνεξέκοπτον]** 'helped them to clear the trees from their path and worked at making their road, with the view of forwarding them through their territory.'

παρήγαγον] 'forwarded them on their way.'

§§ 9—19. *Enter the territory of the Colchians who are drawn up on a range of hills to oppose their progress. The Greeks dislodge them and encamp in a number of villages.*

δρος μέγα] The *Kolat Tagh* of Brant, and *Kara Kaban* of Hamilton.

οἱ Κόλχοι] They occupied the coast of the Euxine from *Trapezus* to the *Phasis*.

βουλευσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν] 'to meet and deliberate.' For *δπως* with the future indicative, see note on IV. 6. 7.

§ 10. **διασπασθήσεται]** 'will be broken.'

§ 11. **ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι]** opposed to ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι below, 'many *decr.*...few *decr.*'

περιτεύουσιν ἡμῶν] 'will outnumber us and will employ their surplus men for any purpose they may please.' White calls attention to the fact that the genitive ἡμῶν is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the verb. *περιτεύουσιν* is usually translated 'will *outflank* us,' a sense which, though implied by the context, is decidedly less forcible than the original idea: 'the longer the file, the more numerous will the enemy be in proportion to its front.'

δθρόων] 'by a simultaneous assault in some particular quarter both of missiles and men.'

§ 12. **ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους]** By this clever manœuvre of bringing up the army in parallel columns with open spaces between them the extension of the phalanx was secured without its weakness. 'My advice is that we should form the companies in column and occupy such an extent

of ground with the companies by leaving intervals between them that those who are at the extreme ends shall find themselves outside the enemy's wings.'

διαλιπόντας] Cf. IV. 7. 6. For *δσον* with the infinitive see note on *δσον σκοταλους διελθεῖν* (IV. 1. 5), while the force of the aorist *γενέσθαι* has been already noticed in connection with IV. 6. 9.

οὕτως ἐσόμεθα] 'and thus *our* army will be disposed as follows.' For this general nominative and its subsequent distribution, cf. IV. 6. 25, *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων... Χειρίσσοφος δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν] Because the *λοχαγοὶ* would march at the head of each column.

§ 13. *οὐδεὶς μὴκέτι μένῃ*] 'not a man of the enemy will any longer stand his ground.' Learn by heart the constructions of *οὐ μὴ*:—(i) by putting a negative before the elliptic *μὴ* with a subjunctive we have the denial of a fear=*a future with strong negation*, 'there is no fear that the enemy will stand his ground:' (ii) *οὐ μὴ* is combined with the second person of the future indicative in questions denoting a strong prohibition, e.g. *οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις*; 'don't trifle!' In the latter construction the *μὴ* goes closely with the verb which it thereby negatives, 'will you not *not-trifle*!'

§ 14. *ἐποιοῦν*] sc. *οἱ λοχαγοὶ*.
τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι] 'so that we *are* not already there,' while *τοῦ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι* would mean 'so that we *should not be* there,' the latter regarding the object as *merely contemplated*, the former as *actually realized*.

ώμοις δεῖ καταφαγεῖν] Coarse but vigorous. Cf. *ώμων βεβρώοις Πριάμων Πριάμου τε παῖδας* (II. Δ. 35) and its parody by Attius Labeo *crudum manducos Priamum Priamique pisinnos*.

§ 15. White notices the correspondence between the number of the troops mentioned in this chapter with that given in the title of the work. In the present case, we hear of 8000 Hoplites and 1800 Peltasts and light troops: in all, 9800.

§ 17. *ἀντιπαρθέοντες*] 'running to the flank to meet them' i.e. 'extending their line both ways to confront the Greeks.'

§ 18. *διαχαζοντας*] 'leaving a break in their lines,' the only instance of its use as an intrans. act. The context shows that *οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκάδικον πελτασταὶ* means 'the peltasts in the Arcadian contingent,' with which compare the phrase *τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν* (Thuc. VII. 78.). More often it would indicate troops stationed at (i.e. to confront) a particular part of the enemy's line.

§ 19. *ἐν πολλαῖς κώμας*] These villages (according to Ainsworth) correspond with the Greek hamlets which occupy at present the head of the valley leading down from the range of hills mentioned in § 9.

§§ 20, 21. *Intoxicating effects of the honey produced in the neighbourhood.*

δ τι καὶ θαύμασαν] 'which *at all* surprised them.' In combinations of this kind *καὶ* may increase or lessen the emphasis according to the context. The latter explanation is more in accordance with the negative form of the present sentence.

ἀφρονές τε ἐγένοντο] These intoxicating effects were due to certain

plants on which the bees had fed, among others the *azalea pontica* and the *rhododendron ponticum*.

ἀποθνήσκουσιν] is of course a participle.

§ 21. οὕτω] 'as I have described,' 'in this state.' It is better to take οὕτω in this sense than to connect it closely with the words which follow.

§§ 22—end. *The Greeks reach Trapezus, and for thirty days plunder the surrounding territory of the Colchians. Sacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and games to celebrate their arrival at the coast.*

Τραπεζοῦντα] Trebizond. ἀποικίαν, 'a colony from Sinope.' Beginners will notice the difference between ἐποικοὶ 'immigrants' and ἀποικοὶ 'emigrants.' Thus the same individual is ἀποικος in reference to the country he leaves, and ἐποικος in relation to the country he adopts.

§ 23. ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι] 'sallying forth from these,' 'using these as their base of operations.'

§ 24. συνδιεπραττοντο] Observe the force of the preposition διὰ, 'they carried on negotiations successfully.'

πλέον] Neither πλέον nor τὸ πλέον, which it is proposed to substitute for it, are admissible readings in place of the complete phrase ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον. I would suggest πλείους as a simple and effective emendation.

§ 25. ἦν εὐχάντο] Compare § 16. ἡγεμόσυνα are 'thank-offerings for safe conduct.'

§ 26. τὰ δέρματα παρέδωκαν] To be offered as prizes in the games. μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται] 'so much the worse for him who is thrown.'

§ 27. αἰχμαλώτων] It has been proposed to substitute Λακεδαιμονίων for αἰχμαλώτων and to understand it as referring to the Spartan ἐρῆβι who followed the camp, simply on the ground that the Greeks would not allow slaves to compete in their games with freeborn citizens. But any such alteration is quite unnecessary, as the context does not imply that any of the Greeks took part in this particular race, while it is also extremely improbable that the strict rules of entry would have been enforced on such an occasion.

δολιχόν] In the στάδιον the course was an eighth of a mile in length, the διαυλος was this distance doubled, while the δολιχος or long course consisted of six, twelve or twenty-four stadia according to circumstances. κατέβησαν] 'entered the lists.' Lat. *ad certamen descenderant*.

§ 28. εἶδει] 'and the course prescribed for them was that they should gallop down the steep till they reached the sea, then turn and work their way back again up hill to the altar.' For the position of the words ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, see note on IV. 1. 3.

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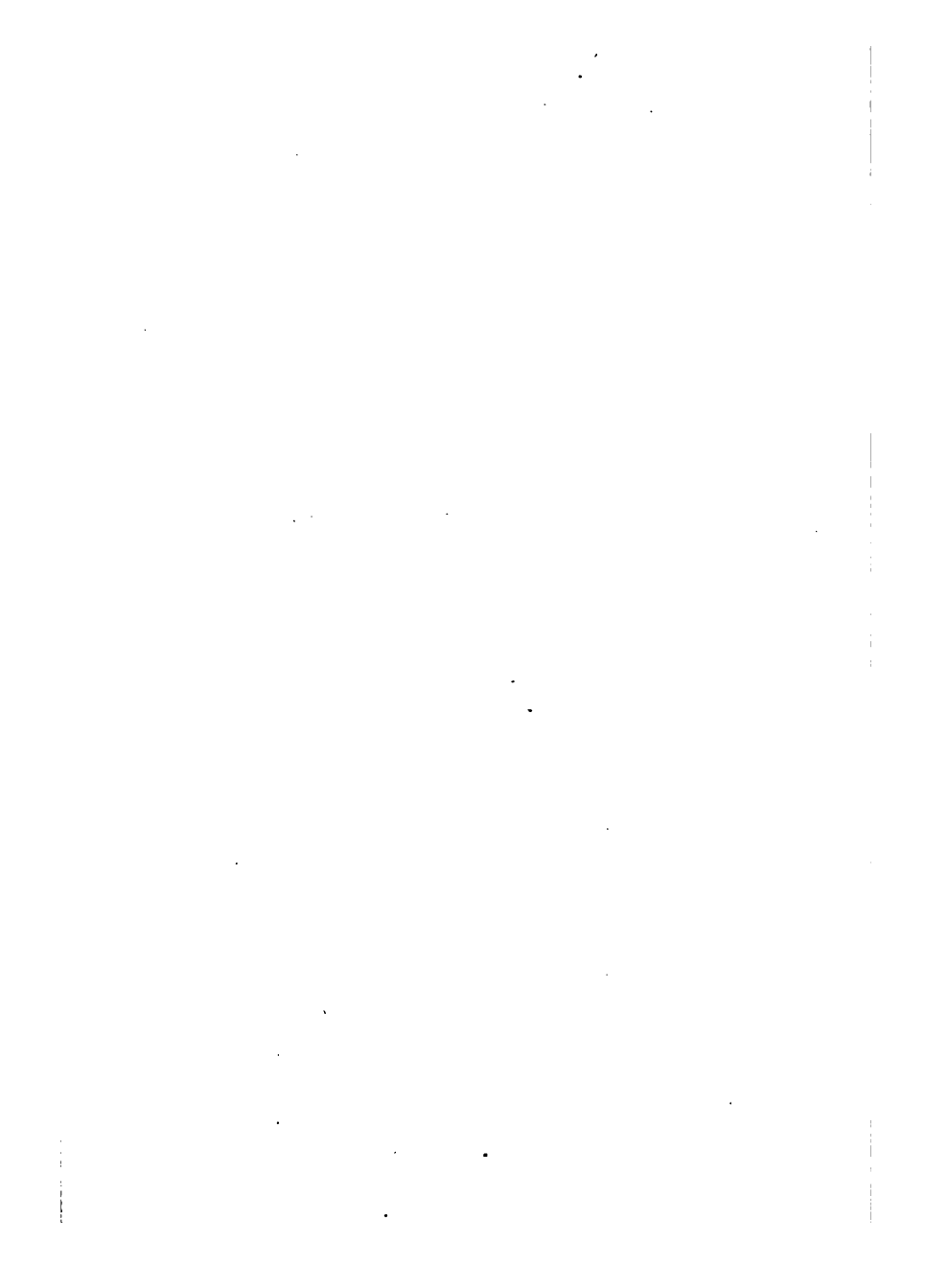
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